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Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

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NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

[Reported for the Albany Argus.]

New York and Virginia.

Debate in the New York Senate, March 30, 1841.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, The Governor of this state has refused to deliver up, upon the demand of the Executive authority of Virginia, Peter Johnson, Edward Smith and Isaac Gansey, alleged fugitives from justice, charged with the crime of theft, viz: stealing a slave within the jurisdiction and against the laws of Virginia—And whereas the Governor has assigned, as the reason for such refusal, that the stealing of a slave within the jurisdiction and against the laws of Virginia, is not a felony or other crime within the meaning of the second section of the 4th article of the constitution of the United States—

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Senate, stealing a slave within the jurisdiction and against the laws of Virginia, is a crime within the meaning of the second section of the 4th article of the constitution of the United States, and that therefore the reason assigned by the Governor for his refusal to surrender the alleged fugitives from justice, upon the demand of the Executive of Virginia, is not, in the opinion of this Senate, sufficient to justify such refusal.

Mr. PAIGE said, the importance of this subject must be his apology for bringing it before the Senate. He had regarded with great anxiety the progress of the controversy between the Governor of this state and the Executive and the Legislature of Virginia. That controversy had at length reached a crisis which menaced the harmony of the Union. The legislature of this state can no longer remain silent lookers on in this matter without incurring the sin of neglecting their duty, and of infidelity to their own state and to the Union. This grave and momentous subject has been three times presented to the Legislature of this state by the Governor, once at the request of the legislature of Virginia, and yet no direct action has been had upon it by the legislature of this state.

If the legislature remain longer silent, our state will become implicated in the unfortunate course pursued by the Governor, and committed to the false position he has taken. To relieve the state of New York from these consequences, we must promptly express our entire dissent from the grounds assumed by the Governor, and proclaim to Virginia that we do not concur with him in regard to the positions he has advanced as to her rights, and our correlative obligations under the constitution and laws of the United States. Virginia is resorting to the measures of defence within her reach, against what she conceives to be a violation of her rights, and of the constitution and laws of the United States by the Governor of this state. Her legislature has already passed an inspection law, which is nothing more nor less than an act of nonintercourse, which will probably put an end to the commercial intercourse between the two states. And she has called upon the other slaveholding states to co-operate with her "in any necessary and proper measures of redress," which she may be forced to adopt.

It will thus be seen that the subject has assumed an aspect too serious to be trifled with. Action upon it can no longer be postponed or evaded. The legislature of Virginia has resolved that the refusal of the Governor of this state to surrender Johnson, Smith and Gansey, as fugitives from justice, upon the demand of the Executive of Virginia, "is a palpable and dangerous violation of the constitution and laws of the United States," and that "it will become the solemn duty of Virginia to adopt the most decisive and efficient measures for the protection of the property of her citizens, and the maintenance of rights which she cannot and will not, under any circumstances, surrender or abandon." And the Executive of that state has solemnly declared to the American people, that if New York "resists the authority of the constitution, she will be responsible in the eyes of nations and in the eyes of God, for the consequences."

Our honor, our justice, our morality, our fidelity to the constitution, and fealty to the Union, are involved in this controversy. The Governor, who is the organ of the state, is accused of violating the solemn obligations assumed by us when we adopted the Constitution of the United States. It is our imperative duty, at once to investigate this grave charge; and if the result shows that the Governor has inflicted a wrong upon our sister state, the united obligations of justice, of honor, of good faith, and of morals, enjoin us instantly to repair it. The abstract question of slavery is not open for discussion in this controversy. Upon that question there can be no diversity of sentiment at the north. All here regret its existence and wish its abolition. All, here regret (and I have no doubt our southern brethren concur in the sentiment,) that "liberty" is not "commensurate with, and inseparable from, the" American "soil," and that slavery should cast its gloom upon any part of our fair and beautiful land. But this cannot be, at least not until it is accomplished by the voluntary action and with the full and free consent of the slave holding states.

The organic law of our republic binds us to a system of perfect non-interference with the domestic institutions of the slave holding states. It obligates us to respect the laws enacted to preserve them; and to recognize, and to accord to these states, all the rights growing out of these institutions. The obligations of this organic law, arise out of the provisions of a solemn compact, into which all the states of the Union have entered; and which is unalterable except by the consent of three-fourths of their number. In a matter of such grave importance, as that which involves the question whether Virginia has been denied a right guaranteed to her by the constitution, and whether the State of New York has, by its organ, the Governor, violated one of the obligations imposed upon her by that instrument; I feel assured that the Governor desires an expression of opinion by the legislature, and that he will promptly conform his action to that opinion, whenever it shall be expressed. Without, however, either consulting the wishes of his Excellency, or yielding to the influence of our own private opinions and personal wishes on the subject of slavery, we ought firmly and honestly to pursue the path of duty, which points us to a thoughtful and dispassionate examination of the constitutional and legal questions involved in the pending controversy between the Governor of New York and the State of Virginia, with the view of ascertaining not only the rights of Virginia, but our obligations under the constitution and laws of the United States. With the hope of accomplishing this object, I shall proceed briefly to discuss the questions upon which the Governor of New York and the State of Virginia are at issue.

The question presented for consideration arises under the 2d section of the 4th art. of the constitution of the United States; which provides that "a person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime." The Executive of Virginia, under this section, and under the law of Congress passed to carry it into execution, demanded from the Governor of this state, the surrender of Johnson, Smith and Gansey, as fugitives from justice, charged with stealing a slave within the jurisdiction and against the laws of Virginia. Governor Seward, after noticing some defects in the affidavit containing the charge of the crime alleged to have been committed, substantially waives all objection to the requisition on that ground, and places his refusal to deliver up the alleged fugitives from justice, upon the single ground, that the offence with which they were charged, was not a felony or other crime within the meaning of the second section of the 4th article of the constitution of the United States. The Executive of Virginia understands Gov. Seward as waiving all objection to the informality of the affidavit, for he says if the refusal to surrender had been made upon that ground, he would have removed the difficulty by causing it to be put "in an unexceptionable form." It is, therefore, the ground upon which Governor Seward placed his refusal to surrender the alleged fugitives from justice, which imparts to this controversy its importance, as it is the assertion of a principle, which, if sanctioned, will apply to all cases of a like character, and will become a rule of action for all future time. The great question then, now presented for our consideration, is, whether stealing a slave within the jurisdiction and against the laws of Virginia, is a crime within the meaning of the second section of the 4th article of the constitution of the United States. Governor Seward holds that it is not! because "it is not a crime either by the laws of this 'state,' or 'by the laws of all civilized countries." He insists that the right to demand, and the obligation to surrender fugitives from justice, under the constitution of the United States, extends only to those cases which are embraced within the law of nations, as the same is understood to be obligatory upon sovereign and independent nations; and that these cases are confined "to crimes of great atrocity, or such as deeply affect the public safety." Governor Seward also insists, that the laws of New York do not recognise slavery, or the principle that one person can be the property of another, or that one man can be stolen from another; and that the common law and "the general principle of civilized communities" are in harmony with the laws of New York in this respect. An examination of several provisions of the constitution, will aid us in ascertaining whether the positions advanced by the Governor can be maintained. Subdivison 17, of section 8, of article 1, of the constitution of the United States, authorises congress to pass all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution a power vested in the government of the United States. In pursuance of this authority, congress by an act passed Feb. 12, 1793, (and which was signed by George Washington, the father of his country,) directed the executive authority of the state to which a fugitive from justice should flee, to deliver up such fugitive upon the demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled. Article 6th declares that the constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, and that the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding. Section 2 of article 3, provides that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all classes in law and equity, arising under the constitution and laws of the United States, and to controversies between a state and the citizens of another state. These provisions of the constitution, give to congress and the federal judiciary complete jurisdiction of all cases arising under the second section of the 4th article of the constitution, relative to fugitives from justice and from labor. And congress has the power, whenever it thinks proper to exercise it, to take from the states and their officers, all agency and control in the arrest and surrender of fugitives from justice and from labor, and to commit the same exclusively to federal officers, and to the federal judiciary. The act of congress of Feb. 12, 1793, being an exercise of the power conferred upon congress, is, by the terms of the constitution the supreme law of the land, and which the constitution declares shall bind the judges in every state; any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding. The right of legislation on this subject belonging to congress, as soon as it was exercised, all control over fugitives from justice or from labor by the states ceased. And all legislation of the states conflicting with the law of congress, or prescribing a different manner for the arrest and surrender of fugitives from justice and from labor, is altogether inoperative and unconstitutional, and is not even binding upon, nor can it be obeyed by state officers. For they, if they act at all, must act under the provisions of the act of congress, as that act is the supreme law of the land, and the constitution of the United States declares it shall be binding upon all the judges in every state.

This shows that the act of the legislature of this state, of May 6, 1840, relative to fugitives from labor, is invalid and unconstitutional, and that it is neither binding upon, nor can it be obeyed by our own state officers. Jack vs. Martin, 12 Wen. R. 311, and 14 W. 507, S. C. in error. Gov. Seward being a state officer, was not bound to perform the duties enjoined by the Act of Congress of Feb. 12, 1793, but having been elected to do so he admitted its obligation, and should have obeyed its requisitions.

The question presented by Gov. Seward turns upon the meaning and true construction of the second section of the 4th art of the constitution of the U. S. For what crimes can a fugitive from justice, be delivered up under that section? The terms used are "treason, felony or other crime." Do these terms embrace the offence of stealing a slave within the jurisdiction of a state, whose laws declared it to be larceny?

It will be conceded that larceny is a crime within the meaning of this section of the constitution. For it belongs to that class of crimes, for which the law of nations requires fugitives from justice to be delivered up by one nation to another. This was so held by Chan. Kent, in 4 John Chan. R. 113. It is also one of those crimes named in our statute; (1 Revised Statutes 149 and act of 5 April, 1822) requiring the surrender of fugitives from justice to foreign governments. It is denounced and prohibited as a crime by the divine law. It is made a crime by the laws of New York. It is even a crime by Gov. Seward's test; for it is a crime by "the universal laws of all civilized countries."

The crime of larceny is defined by our statute to be "the felonious taking and carrying away the personal property of another." But the Governor insists that stealing a slave is not larceny, because a slave cannot be property, or to use his words, because "one man cannot be the property of another." And he admits that the argument would be at an end, "if one person can be property of another." The question then arises, is a slave the property of his master under the constitution and laws of the United States. And this question is to be determined now, precisely as it would have been at the very moment of the adoption of the constitution of the United States. For it is a fundamental rule of construction of all written instruments, that we must look to the circumstances existing at the time of their execution, in order to ascertain their true meaning and the intention of their makers.

At the adoption of the constitution slavery existed in every state in the Union except Massachusetts. And at that period every state except Massachusetts recognized the principle that one person could be the property of another. At that time and for a long period thereafter the laws of New York regarded slaves as property, and as a part of the goods of their master. They in common with the goods and chattels of their owner, were by these laws vendible, devisable, and liable to sale on execution; and in case of the death of the owner, they passed to his executors or administrators, and were assets in their hands, to be applied in payment of debts, or to be distributed to the next of kin. They had all the attributes of property. Actions of trover were maintained in our courts for their value where they had been taken or detained from their owner, in like manner as in the case of the conversion of any chattel. The judges of our highest courts uniformly held they were property, and that they possessed all the attributes of personal property. Upon an execution against the *goods and chattels* of their owner, they were liable to be sold, without being specially named in the execution, and without any special law subjecting them to sale on execution, upon the general ground that they were property and a part of the goods and chattels of their master. Geltson vs. Russel, 11 John. R. 415. By an act of the colony of New York, passed Nov. 3, 1740,—(An Act to encourage the direct importation of slaves from Africa— viz: the slave trade)—slaves were expressly denominated "goods and merchandizes." The act of 1817, abolishing slavery in this state, speaks of the master as the owner of his slave. In the convention which framed the constitution of the United States, slaves were considered and declared to be property by both the northern and the southern delegates. The fact of their being property was the ground of the objection, advanced by the northern members of the convention, against the addition of three-fifths of their number to the whole number of free persons, as the basis of representation. Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, said, "He could regard negro slaves in no light but as property." "They are property, and like other property entirely at the will of the master." "And that, therefore, slaves ought not to be represented." Madison Papers, p. 1055. Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, said he "thought property not the rule of representation. Why then should the blacks who were property in the south be in the rule of representation more than the cattle and horses of the north." Id. p. 842. Mr. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, said "that express security ought to be provided for including slaves in the ratio of representation. He lamented that such a species of property existed; but as it did exist, the holders of it would require this security." Id. p. 1083.

Slavery, and that property may be had in slaves, are recognized in the constitution of the United States. The second section of the 1st art. declares that the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *and three-fifths of all other persons* (*that is, slaves,*) shall be the basis of representation and direct taxation. The second section of the 4th article, declares that fugitives from labor (that is, runaway slaves,) shall be delivered up to the party to whom such labor is due, (that is, to their owners or masters.) The clause of section 9, of article 1, relative to prohibiting the importation of slaves after 1808, also recognizes slavery and the principle that property may be had in slaves.

Even at this moment, slavery and the principle of property in slaves are recognized in every state in the Union. To a certain extent slavery may now be said to exist in all the non-slaveholding states. Fugitive slaves, when they escape into a non-slaveholding state, do not become free, but continue slaves, and are delivered up by the authorities of such state to their masters or owners. This act of surrender of the fugitive slave to his master is an admission that the former is the property of the latter. The act of this state of May 6, 1840, contains the same admission. Section 15, uses the term *fugitive slave.* Our statute, 1 Rev. Statutes, 602, which authorizes persons not inhabitants of this state, to bring with them into this state their slaves, described in the act as "*persons lawfully held by them in slavery*," and to keep them here for nine months, not only tolerates slavery within the state, but expressly admits that a slave may be the property of his master, and protects the master in the enjoyment of this property. A succession of statutes may be found on our statute book enacted to protect the property of masters in their slaves. It is sufficient to refer to one; the act of Feb. 22d, 1788. The principle that slaves are the property of their owners, and that they possess all the attributes of property in goods and chattels, is the settled doctrine of the Supreme Court of the United States. Slavery and that the right of property may exist in slaves are recognized by all civilized countries either in their own immediate laws, or in their intercourse with foreign nations. It is the settled doctrine of the British Admiralty Courts, as well as of the Supreme Court of the United States, that in the case of a capture of a vessel engaged in the slave trade, if the law of the country to which the vessel belongs, gives its sanction to the trade, restitution of the vessel and its cargo of slaves will be decreed. The Antelope, 10 Whea. 116. 1 Acton, R. 240, per Sir William Grant. 1 Dobson, R. 81, 95, per Sir William Scott. If then, at the adoption of the constitution of the United States, by the laws of all the states except Massachusetts, slaves were property; if the members of the convention who framed the constitution, considered and declared them to be property; if the constitution of the United States recognizes the right of property in slaves; if its right of property is even at this moment recognized as admitted to exist, nay, protected by every non-slaveholding state in the Union; if the principle that slaves are the property of their masters is the settled doctrine of the Supreme Court of the United States; if this principle is also recognized by all civilized countries, either in their own immediate laws, or in their intercourse with foreign nations—can the doctrine now be disputed that slaves of citizens of slaveholding states are the property of their masters? And if property, does not the inference necessarily follow that stealing them is *larceny!* and if larceny, that it is a crime within the meaning of the second section of the 4th article of the constitution of the United States? Can any one doubt that the framers of the constitution intended to embrace within this section the offence of stealing a slave, or that the states understood it was so embraced, at the time they ratified the constitution? If slaves are personal property, they may be the subjects of larceny. Gov. Seward admits this conclusion. He says "it is freely admitted that the argument would be at an end, if it were as clear that one human being may be the property of another, as it is that stealing is a crime." Neither the common law or statutory definition of larceny specifies the items of personal property which may be the subjects of theft. The offence is, "the felonious taking and carrying away the personal property of another." Whatever is deemed by law personal property, is embraced within the definition and may be the subject of larceny.

But stealing a slave is an offence of a grade inferior to that of larceny, if made a crime by the laws of any of the states, it is, nevertheless, a crime within the meaning of the second section of the 4th article of the constitution of the United States. The word crime is a generic term. In its most enlarged sense, it comprehends every offence punished criminally. Blackstone says it is synonymous with misdemeanor. 4 Black. Com. 5. Our Revised Statutes recognize a distinction between infamous crimes and crimes. They define infamous crimes as those punishable with death, or imprisonment in the state prison, and crimes as meaning all offences punished criminally. 2 Rev. Statutes, 702. The amendments to the constitution of the United States, art. 5, recognizes the same distinction. This shows that the word crime was used, in its most enlarged sense, in the second section of the 4th article, and was not intended to be confined to infamous crimes merely. Fugitives from justice, when charged with crimes of a grade inferior to larceny, have not only been delivered up by the Executive of this state, to other states, but also by the Executive authority of other states to our Executive, under the second section of the 4th article of the constitution. Clark was delivered up by the Executive of this state, although charged only with the crime of the fraudulent management of a bank, punishable by fine, without imprisonment. Case of Clark, 9 Wen. R., 212. Persons charged with obtaining goods by false pretences, have been delivered up as fugitives from justice by, as well as to, the executive authority of this state. Both of these offences are inferior in grade to that of larceny. The words "or other crime," in the second section of the 4th article of the constitution, import a meaning more extensive than the term 'felony;' if it was not so intended, they would not have been used; and the words "treason or felony" would have been left standing alone in the section. The remark of Mr. Madison confirms the correctness of this construction. He says, "the words 'high misdemeanor' were struck out in the constitution, and the words 'other crime' inserted in order to comprehend all proper cases; it being doubtful whether 'high misdemeanor' had not a technical meaning too limited." 3 Vol. Madison Papers, 1447.

But the clause of the constitution relative to fugitives from justice has no relation to the criminal code of the state upon which the demand is made, or to the universal laws of all civilized countries. And the Executive of the state upon whom the demand is made has no power, under this provision of the constitution, to refuse to deliver up a fugitive, because the offence with which he is charged is not a crime by the laws of his own state, or by the universal laws of all civilized countries. His whole duty is discharged and his power is exhausted, after examining the affidavit or indictment and requisition, and ascertaining whether the charge is correctly made in form and substance as required by the act of congress, and whether the offence with which the fugitive is charged, is a crime by the laws of the state from which he fled. The words of the section are, "A person charged in any state with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, &c., shall be delivered up." To bring a fugitive within the section, he must be charged with a crime, not in the state to which he flees, but in the state from which he fled. And if charged in the state from which he fled, with a crime, the constitution declares that he shall be delivered up. The language is mandatory; and nothing is committed to the judgment or decision of the Executive authority of the state upon whom the demand is made, except to see that the fugitive is properly charged, under the provisions of the act of congress, with an offence made a crime by the laws of the state from which he fled. The case of Clark, (9 Wen. 212.) in my judgment, fully establishes this proposition. The language of the Chief Justice clearly shows the sense of the court on this subject. He says, at p. 218, after reciting the language of the constitution,—"Here, then, is the law on the subject—a positive regulation, and tantamount to a treaty stipulation; and we are not to resort to the comity of nations for our guidance. Every person who is charged with an offence in any state, and shall flee to another state, shall be delivered up." At page 221, he says, "It was objected, that a crime of greater atrocity was intended by the constitution than is here charged. It seems that when proceedings are instituted by the comity of nations, they apply only to crimes of great atrocity, or deeply affecting the public safety. With the comity of nations we have at present nothing to do, unless perhaps to infer from it that the framers of our constitution and laws intended to provide a more perfect remedy, one which should reach every offence criminally cognizable by the laws of any of the states; the language is, treason, felony, or other crime; the word crime is synonymous with misdemeanor, (4 Black's Com. 5) and includes every offence below felony punished by indictment as an offence against the public."

The Chief Justice, at page 219, in referring to the facts in that case, which conferred the authority and imposed the obligations upon the Governor of New-York to deliver up the fugitive, says in substance, the Governor of Rhode Island has demanded the fugitive—the affidavit charges the commission of certain acts which the Governor of Rhode Island certifies are made criminal by the laws of that state—the affidavit is certified to be duly authenticated. "Here is a literal compliance with the constitution and laws of the United States." Not one word is said about the offence charged being a crime by the laws of New-York. And what makes this case a strong authority, is the fact, that the offence charged was not a crime by the laws of New-York.

This case is binding upon all the citizens of this state. And in my judgment Gov. Seward was not at liberty to disregard it. If he had submitted to its authority he would have surrendered the alleged fugitives from justice whenever the affidavit was put in an unexceptionable form, without raising the question whether the offence charged was or was not a crime by the laws of New-York.

But it may be contended that the crime with which the alleged fugitives from justice demanded by Virginia are charged, is a crime even by the laws of this state. A provision of our Revised Statues declares that "every person who shall feloniously steal the property of another in any other state or country, and shall bring the same into this state, may be convicted and punished in the same manner as if such larceny had been committed in this state." 2d Revised States 583 2d Edition.

As slaves in Virginia are property, if they are stolen in that state, and the stealer brings them into this state, the offence by virtue of this provision is a crime by Gov. Seward's own test, viz. by the laws of New-York, and therefore upon his own principles, it is embraced by the section of the constitution relative to fugitives from justice.

The abolition of slavery by New-York cannot alter the construction of the constitution of the United States. If at the adoption of the constitution stealing a slave was a crime within the meaning of the second section of the 4th article, it is so now. If a state by declaring that one item of personal property shall no longer be the subjeet of theft, can withdraw the offence of stealing that species of property, when committed in another state, and which continues to be a crime in that state, from the operation of this section of the constitution, then it will be in the power of one state alone to alter the constitution of the United States. To avoid this preposterous result it will be necessary to repudiate the construction of Gov. Seward.

Gov. Seward has no authority for restricting the meaning of the clause of the constitution relative to fugitives from justice, to such offences as are recognized as crimes by the laws of N. York, or by the laws of all civilized countries. No such restriction is found in the clause in question. He is alike without authority for asserting that this clause of the constitution embraces only offences for which the law of nations requires nations to deliver up to each other fugitives from justice. The debates of the convention and the objects which that illustrious body had in view, as conected with the harmony and perpetuity of the Union, furnish evidence that the framers of the constitution did not intend to confine the meaning of this section as is insisted in these propositions of Gov. Seward. Those fathers of the republic evidently intended to provide a more perfect remedy, than that existing under the law of nations, for the surrender of fugitives from justice, and so to provide it as to prevent in its exercise all possibility of any collision between the states.

If the construction of the 2d clause of sec 2 of the 4th article of the constitution is to be controlled by the established principles of the law of nations, the whole subject may be involved in doubt and difficulty. For Judge Story (Story on conflict of laws, 520, 1, 2—Story on constitution United States, 675, sec. 1802) informs us that distinguished jurists disagree as to the rights conferred and obligations imposed by that law. On the one hand, Vattel, Grotius, Burlemaque and Chanc. Kent insist that one nation may, independent of any treaty stipulation, demand from another nation the surrender of fugitives from justice, as a matter of strict right; (Vattle b. 2, chap. 6, sec, 76—Grotius b. 2 chap, 20, sec. 3, 4, 5—Burlemaque part 4, chap. 3, 4—Johns. chan. 106—1 Kent com. 36, 2d ed.) while on the other hand Puffendorf, Lord Coke, Chief Justice Parker and Chief Justice Tillghman maintains that the surrender of criminals prevails as a matter of comity only, and cannot be demanded as a right. 3 Cok. Inst. 180—10 Ser. and Rawle, 125—15 Mass. R. 515.

The questions involved in the pending controversy arise wholly under the constitution of the United States, and the law of congress of Feb. 12, 1793. It is therefore foreign to the subject to inquire whether stealing a slave is either a crime by the law of nations, the common law, or the statute laws of New-York. If it is a crime by the laws of Virginia, it is a crime within the meaning of the constitution.

Gov. Seward relies much upon the difference between the language of the two clauses concerning fugitives from justice, and from labor. He says in the latter clause, the laws of the states concerning slavery are recognized by the constitution, but not in the former.

I confess that I am unable to see how this difference in the phraseology between the two clauses, can aid the Governor in his construction of the clause concerning fugitives from justice. The laws of the states are in both clauses alike recognized by the constitution

In the clause concerning fugitives from labor, the words used are, "A person held to service in one state, under the laws thereof, shall be delivered up." In the other clause the words are, "A person charged in any state with treason, felony or other crime, shall be delivered up." Charged in any state, necessarily means charged under the laws of any state. For a person could not be charged in any state with an act as a crime, unless it was made a crime by the laws of such state.

Neither can I see the force of the Governor's distinction between a civil right and a public wrong—as bearing upon the obligations to surrender a fugitive slave and a fugitive from justice charged with stealing a slave. If there is any distinction it is against the Governor. For the public wrong imposes a higher obligation to deliver up the fugitive from justice, than the civil injury does to surrender the fugitive from labor. Because, the former being a public injury, affects the whole community, while the latter being merely a private wrong, affects only an individual.

Gov. Seward also assigns as a reason for the distinction he takes between the two clauses, that "the clause concerning fugitives from justice embraces citizens of this state, whose liberty is dear to her, and is guarantied by the constitution." If the Governor means to be understood by this proposition that our constitution in any case guaranties to the criminal immunity from punishment for crime, I trust it will not receive the assent of this senate. However dear the citizens of New-York may be to her, they are not privileged from imprisonment as a punishment for criminal offences, and they enjoy no guarantee by our constitution against a surrender to the state whose protection they have repaid by the perpetration of crimes punishable by her laws. It would be an insult to, if not an outrage upon the people of this state, to prostitute their constitution to any such unholy and disgraceful purpose as this.

It appears to me that the two clauses in the constitution relative to fugitives from justice and from labor are intimately connected. And that the admission of Gov. Seward, that the constitution of the United States recognizes slavery and property in slaves, and imposes the obligation to surrender fugitive slaves to their owners, necessarily concedes the obligation to deliver up the fugitve from justice who is charged with the crime of stealing a slave. The right to demand the latter seems to be necessary to the protection of the legal right of property in the former. The mode of the surrender in both cases is similar. Mr. Justice Story and Mr. Sargeant both hold that the provisions for the arrest of fugitives from justice and from labor contemplate summary ministerial proceedings, without the delay of a formal trial, either for the trial of the guilt of the fugitive from justice, or of the right to freedom of the fugitive from labor. 3 Story com. on const. 677, sec. 1806—Sargeant const. law, 388—5 Ser. and Rawle, 62.

If, as Gov. Seward contends, the Executive upon whom the requisition is made for the deilivery of a fugitive from justice, is invested with authority finally to determine what offences fall within the constitution irrespective of the laws of the state in which the crime is charged to have been committed, then it will be in the power of any single state to defeat entirely that provision of the constitution which requires the surrender of the fugitives from justice; and the injured state, whose demand shall be unconstitutionally denied, will be utterly powerless in enforcing any remedy to redress the wrong thus inflicted. If this construction prevails, the Executive of any single state will have it in his power to set at naught the criminal code of every other state in the Union; and he will be able to exercise a veto power upon their legislation, so far as it relates to the offences of all fugitives from justice. The alarming injustice which such a construction of the constitution would tolerate, and the incalculable and fearful mischiefs which would flow from it, connected with the harmony and perpetuity of the Union, may be better conceived than described.

The extraordinary positions assumed by Gov. Seward not only contravene the clause of the constitution relative to fugitives from justice, but also that provision of the constitution which declares that "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." If the surrender of a fugitive from justice is to depend upon the laws of the state to which he flees, the privileges and immunities of the citizens of each state will not be the same in all the states. Under such a construction of the constitution, if a fugitive from Virginia charged with the crime of stealing a slave should flee to Maryland, where this offence is made a crime, he will be delivered up and punished: but if he flees to New-York, he will be protected by the state authorities, and will go unpunished.

This would give the constitution a fluctuating character. It would cease to be the supreme law of the land, universal and uniform in its application in all the states.

There is no peculiar demand for sympathy in behalf of any of our citizens, who, while enjoying the protection of Virginia, wilfully violate her laws by enticing away or stealing the slaves of her citizens. Such an offence cannot be justified even by those who hold slavery to be unlawful; for the rule of ethics which receives universal assent, that the end will not justify the means, would condemn it.

The slave-stealer has no excuse to offer for his violation of the criminal laws of the state which affords him protection; and he has no just claims upon the state to which he flees to shield him from the punishment prescribed for his offence even although he should happen to be a citizen of New-York, "whose liberty was dear to her."

It would be derogatory to the high character of our state to make it an asylum for the fugitives from the justice of the other states; a place of refuge for the felon, the depredators upon property, and the violators of the laws. If we did this, our state would be stigmatized as the Botany Bay of the United States. If Gov. Seward's doctrines are to provail, we must receive with open arms, not only the slave stealer, but the innumerable swarms of public offenders who shall be charged with every variety of crime, excepting only such as are of great atrocity, or deeply affect the public safety. And we must prostitute our constitution to the disgraceful purpose of protecting this vast multitude of transgressors, of securing to them an immunity from the punishment due for their crimes.

But we should assume a heavy responsibility by adopting this policy. By refusing to surrender fugitives from justice when demanded, we become, says Vattel, accomplices in the crime and responsible for it. Vattel, b. 2, chap. 6, sec. 76.

In the face of this responsibility I cannot believe that the legislature or the people of this State will ever adopt the views and opinions of Gov. Seward on this subject; *especially* when we find that even by the law of nations, to which he refers, neighboring nations intimately connected by the ties of friendship, are bound to surrender to each other criminals, when charged with only common crimes. Vattel, b. 2, chap. 6, sec. 76.

If such be the law of nations as applicable to nations thus connected, if we had no constitutional provisions on the subject, it would apply with greater force to these States, united to each other as they are, in one political confederation, by bonds of the most friendly and indissoluble character.

Thus we find that by whatever test we try the questions involved in this controversy, we reach the same result, viz: that Virginia has, under the constitution of the U. S., the right to demand, and we are obligated to deliver up all fugitives from justice, charged in that State with the crime of stealing a slave within her jurisdiction and against our laws.

But I will go farther, and insist that upon the principles of fraternal regard, and in reference to the friendly and federal relations of the States and their intimate political connection, and upon the principles of mutual respect for each other's laws and institutions, and of that forbearance, concession and compromise which gave our valued constitution existence, we ought not to hesitate, irrespective of the obligation imposed by either the constitution or the law of nations, to surrender up on demand, all and every fugitive from justice, charged with the commission of any crime under the laws of any of our sister States.

If Governor Seward then has taken a false position, and advanced doctrines not warranted by the Constitution, it is due to Virginia that this legislature declare it. The recent legislation of Virginia, proceeded upon the ground, that the course of Governor Seward had received the approbation of the legislature of New-York. If this legislature now repudiate the erroneous doctrines of the governor, harmony between the two States will be restored. Action upon this subject has hitherto been neglected and evaded. Neglect and evasion will not satisfy the exigencies of the present crisis. A frank, prompt, explicit expression of opinion is now demanded from the representatives of the people of this State. And it must now be made, else the most malign consequences will follow. It would be a source of profound regret, if the opinion prevailed in any quarter of the Union, that the State of New York had been unmindful of her constitutional obligations to her sister States. The harmony and the perpetuity of the Union depend upon a religious fulfilment, by the States, of all their obligations to each other, and upon a scrupulous regard for their reciprocal rights. Fearful will be the accountability of those public men, who violate this high moral and national duty, to subserve local and political interests. Questions of constitutional obligation should never be mixed up with party conflicts of the day. And I now invoke the serious and unprejudiced attention of the members of the senate to this subject; and call upon them to give a unanimous support to the resolution I have had the honor to submit for their consideration.

Mr. Verplanck said he could not permit the question to be taken on the resolution without assigning his reasons for the vote which he should give. He should not enter into any elaborate argument upon the subject; for it was not required. What was the subject before us? The preamble recites the fact that the Governor has refused to deliver up to the Executive of Virginia, three persons charged with stealing a slave from that State, and the resolution declares that the Governor was in an error, in so refusing.

He (Mr. V.) would ask senators what we, as a legislative body, had to do with this subject? What consequences would follow the expression of our opinion upon this abstract question? Had we any right to vote upon it at all! Sir, said Mr. Verplanck, the argument on this question lies within a very narrow compass. The Constitution declares that, "A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime."

A law of Congress was passed in 1793, under the auspices of the "Father of his Country," Gen. Washington, which provides for carrying this clause of the Constitution into effect. That law declares that the Governor of the State shall, upon demand, deliver up the fugitive from justice.

Here we find the Executive made the sole organ to carry into effect this provision of the Constitution. Neither the State legislature, nor any other power, has any thing to do with the question. The Executive is to be the only judge.

It could not well be otherwise.

The Constitution prescribes the peculiar state of circumstances under which this demand may be made, and must not the Executive be the judge, whether such circumstances exist or not? The Constitution says, "any person charged with the commission of felony or other crime," &c. What crime? Is not the Executive to judge? Certainly he is, and upon him rests the entire responsibility. The Constitution gives to Congress the right to passs laws to carry into effect its provisions. They have done so—and in regard to this particular subject, have left the whole matter with the Executive.

Ought it not to be so? Let us look at it for a moment. Differences between States will arise—they *have* often occurred. We, in this State, have been involved in a controversy with New Jersey about the boundaries of the two States, and again in regard to the right of fishing and taking oysters in certain waters. Laws of a retaliatory nature were passed by both States.

Will any one contend that any of the officers appointed to carry these respective laws into effect, could be demanded by the other State, as a fugitive from justice, because he had not complied with the laws of that State? The idea would be preposterous. About the period of the adoption of the Constitution, difficulties of a similar character existed between other States—for instance, between New-York and Vermont—Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and between several of the southern States. Can it be imagined that when Congress passed this law, they contemplated any other course than to leave the whole matter with the Executive? What would have been the consequences, in the cases to which he had alluded, had such not been the case?

Again, another question arises. Who are fugitives from justice? We differ in this widely extended country, upon many questions, political as well as religious. Suppose some zealous Protestant or Catholic in Louisiana or New-York, should put forth some publication which might be considered, in some other State, as detrimental to public morals—or, what is directly in point, take the case of the Mormons, who have been prohibited by the laws of one State to publish their sentiments,—suppose they should establish themselves in this State, and, through the press, disseminate their views, can it be supposed that in either of these cases, the individuals could be claimed as *fugitives from justice?* Or, on account of their acts conflicting with the laws of other States, they should be so demanded, ought they to be given up? Perhaps so—probably not—it is for the Executive to judge.

So in a hundred similar cases, which must have presented themselves to the minds of the framers of the Constitution. They saw the impossibility of providing for each contingency that might arise—they therefore left them to the discretion of the Executive. The Constitution has been followed out by the law of Congress, and that law too, has left the question open with him solely.

Has Governor Seward done wrong in this matter? He, (Mr. V.) would not say. He had his private opinion about it, and was free to express it in the proper place. But here, as a legislator, he had nothing to do with it. We have no right to interfere with the opinions of the Executive, or pass upon any reasons which he might assign as a justification of his acts. He (Mr. V.) was at a loss to know from whence the senator from the third (Mr. Paige) derived his authority to sit in judgment upon this act of the Executive.

He (Mr. V.) was aware that the legislature of Virginia had passed resolutions approbatory of the conduct of their Governor. He marvelled at such a course, and he could account for it only on one theory—for he was positive some reason must have existed, to have induced Virginia, the mother of wise and patriotic men, and the expounder of the Constitution, to take such a course. This reason was that the Governor of that State, being elected by the legislature, stands in a different relation to them, from what the Executive of this State does to this legislature. They may regard him as, in some degree, a representative whom they have a right to instruct. Our Governor being elected by the people, and deriving his power from them, is responsible to them alone.

Suppose we pass this resolution, what good will it do? It will have no sort of effect upon any one. What could we do with it, if we should pass it? The Constitution has reposed this power in the Executive—so too has the law of Congress. The whole scope of authorities on the subject shows that it is wholly beyond the jurisdiction of the legislature. Congress has acted upon this subject, and has exhausted all the power reposed in it by the Constitution.—They might not have left it wholly with the Executive had they not seen fit. They could have given the courts of the United States power to issue a mandamus, requiring the Executive to surrender the fugitive; but they have not done so. The power does not rest in the circuit courts, although Congress might have given it to them, and have provided that it should be their duty to enforce the provisions of the Constitution, leaving an appeal to the supreme court open to the aggrieved party. But Congress did not so provide. The Executive is left the sole judge of the matter. Our State courts have no right to interfere—neither has this legislature. What then have we to do—what can we do?

The Senator has alluded to the law of last winter, granting to fugitive slaves the right of trial by jury, of which Virginia complains. That is an entirely different matter. We had authority to pass that law. Our own courts are proper subjects of our legislation. The powers committed to them are within our own jurisdiction. What have we done? While we have not interfered with the duties of the United States Courts, we have said to our own courts, "If you choose to take cognizance of this claim to slaves, you shall act in accordance with the spirit and provisions of our laws. If a citizen of this State, or one claiming to be such, is arrested, he shall have the right of trial by jury." There was a clear distinction between the two cases.

Here, then, we find that the Executive has the sole right to act in this matter. What then will the resolution amount to? It is nothing—a mere windy expression of idle words. Suppose we pass it and send it to the Governor—he can answer, "Gentlemen, I differ with you." What shall we have attained? We might as well express our opinion upon the decision of the Supreme Court in regard to the Amistad negroes. We might approve or disapprove of it—what then? What effect can that expression possibly have? We might as well give it in the one case as the other, and with equal propriety. As to the *right* of the Governor to decide as he has done, that is another matter. Of that the public must judge.

Mr. V. said he could not enter into the feelings expressed by the Senator who had just addressed the Senate, (Mr. Paige,) nor could he allow that the legal conclusion to which that Senator had atrived, was correct. He could not adopt the sentiment, that because slavery existed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, therefore, by that instrument, slaves were made property. That was wholly an assumed fact. *Property* in man! it was not so in our laws—it was not so in the Constitution. The word 'slave' does not appear in that instrument. Its patriotic framers looked for a better state of things than then existed. They could not contemplate the idea of making slavery perpetual. They spoke of *persons* migrating from one country to another—not slaves—they would not consent to incorporate that foul name in that sacred instrument. They also speak of "fugitives from labor"—not of runaway slaves. Such was the language of the great and good Washington and Franklin, representatives of States where slavery was then tolerated. But they looked forward to its ultimate and final extirpation. He (Mr. V.) did not deny that a man might have property in the *labor* of another, but not in *him.* He could not bring himself to say that there could be property in *man.*

Mr. V. said the whole argument was now exhausted.—We might go into the history of this whole matter, but that would be but a comment upon the argument. He would not, therefore, longer detain the Senate with remarks upon the resolution. Believing that the subject was one over which we had no control, and on which neither branch of the legislature was called upon to express an opinion, and that, furthermore, no legislative action could possibly grow out of it, he would move its indefinite postponement.

SELECTIONS.

Freedom in Kentucky.

The dawn increases: the night shades retire.

"The hour of freedom! come it must,
O hasten it, in mercy, Heaven!
When all, who grovel in the dust,
Shall stand erect, their fetters riven."

A late number of the Lutheran Herald, after mentioning several cheering facts, says:

"Another true index to the Anti-Slavery feeling in that State will be seen by a letter of a citizen of Kentucky. He was formely a bitter opposer of the abolitionists, and rejoiced in the death of Lovejoy; but has now espoused the cause of humanity, and wishes to establish a paper that "shall give NO QUARTER, and vindicate at any hazard the interest and future well being of the down trodden and oppressed." The following thrilling incident drew this talented gentleman out to battle in the open field of humanity, and may it vibrate the chords of sympathy in the heart of every reader.

"About two weeks since, a Southerner, loaded down with pistols and bowie knives, with a negro hand-cuffed and otherwise used in the most unfeeling manner, stald all night in this place. The negro had run away from Mississippi and was caught on the Kentucky shore. The unfeeling, purse-proud tyrant, chained the unoffending slave to the bedstead, and made him lie upon the floor without anything under or over him. In the morning, as was usual, he procured a handsaw and sawed the negro's back till he was a gore of blood (!) and told the negro as a consolation, that as soon as he got him home he should be HUNG and BURNT, before all the other negroes, as an *example.* When I saw this I vowed eternal hostility to slavery in its mildest forms; and this vow I shall never violate. I am well acquinted with negro slavery in all its horrid forms. I know the many systems of torture invented for their punishment, I am determined that they shall be exposed. There is a crisis approaching that will accomplish much for the negro. Universal freedom is close by—the southern blood-suckers will have to relax their grasp, and the negro will soon enjoy that liberty which his Creator intended for him."—*Union Herald.*

From the Evangelist.

Letters from the South.

CHARLESTON, Feb. 1841.

My observations in this letter will be confined to the effects of slavery which exist in the Southern States, upon the prosperity of the community, as measured by dollars and cents. If the views which I have already taken of the subject in various other relations be correct, I know that you will agree with me in regarding this as a minor point; and in feeling that prosperity and wealth, however abundant and universally diffused, could never compensate a community for the diminished intelligence and industry, the deterioration of moral principle, and the blunting of the nobler and purer feelings of the heart. Still, I am well aware, that a large part of my fellow-citizens, even at the North, will view this as the leading point of view, the great question to be determined; and will feel that slavery is to be approved, or condemned, principally on acconnt of its effect upon the pecuniary interests of the commuity in which it exists.

The labor of slaves in cultivating the earth, and particularly in raising cotton, may be compared with the labor of free blacks, or of free white men. In either case, the comparison must be principally theoretical; for the labor of free blacks, employed by the owners of the soil, and receiving wages from them, has never been tried on a large scale, except in the British West Indies; and that experiment, though its results seem to me highly satisfactory, has been of too short duration, and too imperfectly reported, to be at present sufficient to determine the question; and white men have not hitherto been employed in the cultivation of cotton and tobacco, in a hot southern climate, to such an extent as to afford ground for comparison.

I think, however, we may say with the utmost safety, and I but repeat what I have just been told by an inhabitant of the South who is strongly attached to southern institutions, that slave labor is the dearest of all kinds of labor.

I will make a very simple calculation on this subject, analogous to one which I made in a former letter. A healthy, male slave, twenty or twenty-five years old, costs at least a thousand dollars. The interest on the purchase, depreciation in value, and risk of death, or running away, cannot be estimated at less than fifteen per cent, or a hundred and fifty dollars for one year. His food and clothing, although no better than are essential for his preservation in health, together with medical attendance, will cost at least fifty dollars more. Now, two hundred dollars a year, that is from ten to twelve dollars a month and board, is just about the average wages of the young men employed by the farmers of New-England. But I believe no lengthened argument is necessary to prove that these young men, receiving satisfactory wages for their labor, and knowing that they will be employed only so long as they are industrious, will accomplish twice as much work as the same number of slaves, who have no incitement to labor except the whip, and whose great object is to do as little as they possibly can. Upon this point, there is no variety in the testimony of those who have seen slaves work. The listless, inefficient, careless manner in which they move when employed in the field, will surprise and vex any man unaccustomed to it; and this I believe to be the principal reason why masters from the North, are commonly more severe than natives of the South. I have not yet adverted to the facts that the wife of the slave will cost near as much as the slave himself, and will do far less work; and that he must be supported when he becomes unable to work.

I know that the planter, while he cannot help acknowledging the truth of my calculation, will reply that he already owns the slaves, and has paid for them; and that the question is not whether it was originally best to employ slave labor; but what he shall do under the present circumstances. So far as an individual is concerned, it is difficult to say what he should do, regarding only his pecuniary interests; for at present, in many parts of the South, it would be difficult to cultivate the land without employing slaves; and beyond question, free and slave labor do not work well together. Nor shall I attempt to compare the effects of continued slavery, and universal emancipation, upon the general interests of the community; as my design is only to describe the existing state of things. I may, however express my conviction, that if such an emancipation were to take place now, the aggregate wealth of the community would be greater five years hence, than it would be if slavery should continue; and that this would be the only measure which could arrest the downward tendency which so plainly exists at the South.

It is well known that the southern States are now, and have been for years, in a situation of great depression; and this is particularly true of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. I suppose that the aggregate property of the inhabitants of these three States, if sold at a fair price, would not pay the aggregate amount of their debts; and indeed would probably fall far short. These debts were incurred partly for lands and slaves, and partly for the various articles of consumption for their slaves and themselves. They are principally due to the North; and were half of them paid, the embarrassment and bankruptcy which weigh down New-York and Philadelphia, would give place to vigor and prosperity. These debts would never have been incurred, at least to so disastrous an extent, under a system of free labor, and many of them never will be paid while slavery continues. In the three States which I have mentioned, the currency is in a state of almost irretrievable confusion; so that, as I have been informed by a merchant in Augusta, Ga., when a customer enters a store, and wishes to purchase a bill of goods, the first inquiry is 'what kind of money have you got to pay with?' and the price of the goods depends upon the character of the money. A very large state debt has been incurred, and the proceeds of the bonds have been invested in State banks, which have been so managed that their whole property is lost, and they are irretrievably bankrupt. Of course the interests and principal of the State debts must be paid by direct taxation. The cotton crop in Georgia, was not in 1840 more than one-third of an average crop, and in the adjoining States, the deficiency was considerable. Of course the debts of the inhabitants, were much increased during the last year.

There are, of course, in so large a community, many persons who are nearly or quite free from debt. But the large majority of the inhabitants are either irretrievably bankrupt, so that their property is from time to time sold by the sheriff; or else are so much involved that they can just meet the interest of their debts, and keep their heads above water. I have been repeatedly informed, and fully believe, that the principal cause of the political change during the last year in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Alabama, was the general wish for a bankrupt law, and the indefinite hope that there might be some change for the better. Virginia, and the Carolinas, are in a less depressed condition. Though a large proportion of the population are exceedingly poor, yet neither the inhabitants generally, nor the States as communities, are so much involved in debt as to be seriously embarrassed. Within a few years, these States have learned lessons of economy and industry, which will probably preserve them from the evils with which their southern neighbors are afflicted. I shall not attempt to describe the condition of the Western slave States, as I have not visited them.

I had intended to express my views of the effects of slavery upon the slave. But as I have had little personal intercourse with this unfortunate class, and as that branch of the subject has been often and ably discussed by others, I have concluded to close this series of letters, so far as their principal subject is concerned, by stating very briefly, my ideas respecting the future progress of slavery and emancipation, as involving the action both of the free and of the slave States.

I remain your friend,

DELTA.

Abstinence from Products of Slave Labor.

The question now arises, How far might we abstain from the products of slave-labor? The people of New England, were they united on it, could abstain from those products *totally*—and that to their own incalculable benefit, and to the slave's deliverance. Unlearned as we are in commercial science, we feel no danger in setting down this statement, *that the commerce between New England and the slaveholding states, is in its aggregate, immensely to New England's loss in property, health, life, and virtue.* In evidence of this, let us consider the principal articles of slave produce imported into our section of country, especially from the southern states. Begin with

Tobacco—With the smoke of which our land is clouded, and with the juice of which it flows. The vast amount of this article consumed in New England, is the product of slave-labor, principally from the southern states, and the rest mostly from Cuba, where slavery exists in its worst degree, it being common to "work the slaves off" (to death) in ten years from their arrival from their home in Africa, upon that bloody island. All that our consumers pay for tobacco, is so much *clear loss*, pecuniarily, while the loss suffered in health and morals by this consumption, is beyond the computation of the arithmetician. The loss in mere *dollars*, by southern trade, in the particular of tobacco, might be expressed by millions, and by yet higher numbers; but the health, and the life, and the virtue destroyed by it, admits not of computation or measurement. Will not these losses by this single article of southern trade, go far to balance whatever profits may be realized in other articles imported from the southern states? Will they not overbalance all that may be gained, (we speak of consumers, by trade in any other article, or in all other articles of southern produce?

Cotton. In view of the great amount of this article manufactured and consumed in New England, of the many persons its manufacture employs, and of the great amount of clothing it furnishes, it may, at first, seem that the advantages realized from the importation of this article of southern produce, the produce of the slave's toil, is great. It might, at first thought, seem that this branch of southern trade is indispensable. But is it really so? Time has been, when the people of New England subsisted without cotton factories. Have they gained, or have they lost by the change which has taken place? Are the people of New England, in the aggregate, in better circumstances than they would have been, had not one bale of cotton of southern production yet been manufactured among us? The full discussion of the question would be a theme for the occupancy of volumes. Of course we can only start the inquiry, and suggest a few hints. What if the former custom of household manufacture of clothing had been kept up, and the men, women and children, who have been employed in cotton factories, had been engaged in cultivating our own soil, rearing herds and flocks, operating the household wheels and looms—what if this had continued in New England until now? What have been the advantages of the change? Why, rich capitalists have become richer; many persons engaged in the factories, have become rich or fore handed; female operatives especially, have obtained large wages and laid up money; our population has been supplied with cloth at a price deemed much cheaper than that at which it could be manufactured in the household manner; villages have been built up; a ready market for the produce of our farmers has been opened in hundreds of places; and the sphere of business and trade has been greatly enlarged. Against these pecuniary benefits may be set down the pecuniary losses by the factory system, the manufacture of slave-produced cotton among us. We may safely calculate these losses to be large. The neglected cultivation of the soil, caused by the introduction of factories extensively in New England, is a very great loss to the real interests of the country. The cultivation of the soil is the grand productive source of the necessaries of life. In proportion to the neglect of this, is the essential wealth of the country diminished. The extensive manufacture of cotton produced by slave-labor, has diminished the cultivation of our soil far below what it would otherwise have been, and thus has detracted greatly from this true source of a people's wealth. From the same cause, domestic, household manufacture, has been greatly neglected. The substantial home-made fabrics, produced and wrought by families "within themselves" have given place to foreign articles, which, though purchased at a price seemingly below the expense of home-made, have in reality cost the consumers far more, in the process by which they are paid for by them. This will, upon examination, be found true of purchased articles that are really necessary in the absence of home-made; but add to this the immense superfluity and extravagance, in the matter of clothing especially, which is introduced by the substitution of foreign for homespun clothing, and by our thousands and ten thousands of young women leaving the distaff and the household wheel and loom for the cotton factories—and the absolute loss to the country, caused by this change, will be found to be immense. Might it not be found, could all the gains and losses, of a pecuniary kind connected with the manufacture of slave-produced cotton be accurately computed, that, to the people of New England generally, the losses would fully balance and over balance the gains! Has not the Author of all good so formed the economy of things, as to forbid a general and permanent prosperity, even pecuniarily, in participating the fruits of injustice? And it is beyond disputation, that the cotton for our factories is procured by the most gross injustice. It cries to God against the slave holder and all that are accessories in the enslavement and robbery of those whose labors produce it and who are the rightful proprietors of it. Is there not a curse upon this and all the products of extorted and unpaid labor, which will, generally, attach itself to all that share in them?

But what amount of pecuniary advantages will balance against the expenditure of health, life, intellect, and virtue, which is made in manufacturing the cotton, "drenched in the tears and blood of the slave." The factories in New England, in which this ill-gotten material is wrought up, are so many sepulchres in which is entombed the health of the ten thousands of operatives, with few exceptions. In thousands of instances they prove speedily to those who enter them, the ante-chambers to death. Thousands and thousands of New England's daughters, in the flower of their life, have withered, and sunk prematurely to the tomb, by the life-destroying influences of the factory system, as it is conducted in this country. What amount of pecuniary gain would compensate for these lives? Ask mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, who have followed the stricken victims to their early graves. In the pallid countenances of the multitudes of factory operatives, on the premature graves of their thousands of victims already fallen, do we not read the curse fixed in the righteous laws of Nature upon the fruits of iniquity, to be shared by those who participate in such fruits! Righteous retribution is interwoven in all the natural, as well as the moral universe; and naturally, as well as judiciously, our "sins do find us out," even our sins of ignorance. The way of righteousness is the path of life; and the way of sin against God and of wrong against our fellow men, is the way of death. The cotton manufactured in New England is the price of the bodies, the lives and the souls of men, and a retributive curse follows it to the remotest transfer—except in the case of those who repay the *slave* for what they share of his labors. Add to the destruction in health and life, the effect this system has on the intellectual and moral character of thousands, and there is an amount of evil, for which, in our view, no pecuniary advantages can compensate. Not that extensive manufactories could not be carried on without these incomputable losses. No: we trust there will be a change, a reform: but if it ever comes, it will be effected by the same spirit of benevolence and righteousness that will set the slave free, and that will make the material for their fabrications to be the product of free compensated labor. The spirit of emancipation is already aroused to a zealous effort for procuring supplies of cotton from other sources than slave labor; especial efforts are making for its growth in India.

Grains and Sugars.—We have heard some of our people at the north argue, or rather alledge, that New England could not be supplied with bread stuffs without the corn and flour and rice bought of the south, and which are produced by slave-labor. If the labor and the money expended by the people of New England in the purchase of bread stuffs from the slave states were appropriated to the cultivation of our own New England soil, would it not furnish us more plentifully with bread, than it does by southern trade, and do far more to increase the actual wealth of the people? As to sugars, a far larger quantity is consumed than is compatible with the health and other interests of the people. And a necessary supply of sugar might be furnished from our maples, from the beet, and imported from the freed West India Islands and other places where it is produced by free labor.

In making up the account of loss and gain by our commerce with slaveholders, the demoralizing influence of such commerce upon the people of the free states, should constitute a heavy item in the loss of the latter. Evil communications corrupt good manners. The trade of the north with the south has had much to do in working that extensive destruction of the genuine principles of freedom and the pro-slavery feeling and sentiment of the people of the north; an evil for which pecuniary gains cannot compensate. We would enlarge upon this topic, but for want of room. Let the reader enlarge for himself in the consideration of this important point.

But however great the loss incurred by trade with slaveholders, in the aggregate or in particular commodities, and however practicable it would be for the people of New England to desist totally from that trade, were they all united in the object—they will not all unite in it, and it therefore remains for individuals, who, on the principle of David's abstinence, as quoted in the preceeding number, would not live upon the tears and blood of the slave and upon the price of his soul, to abstain from the products of his enslavement as far as possible, and in cases where, (from the participation in slavery in which the whole land is plunged by commercial intercourse so extensively carried on,) abstinence is impracticable, to see that he renders an equivalent service for the slave. Many articles of slave produce that we have been accustomed to use, we can do without, or procure the same kind, produced by free labor. By stern principle, care and pains-taking, with self-denial, we may, as individuals, come near to total abstinence from the fruits of slavery. As individuals we may preserve our souls pure from the price of blood, and bear the effectual testimony of this abstinence. And associations may be formed—a beginning is already commenced—they may be multiplied and extended, so as to greatly diminish the consumption of slave-labor produce, and to afford a powerful testimony. Let every individual friend of the slave, be faithful to the slave, to himself and to God in this matter. "Keep thyself pure."—*Morning Star.*

Letter from Wendell Phillips.

NAPLES, April 12, 1841.

DEAR GARRISON,—I have borne very constantly in mind my promise, in London, to write you, but have found nothing in my way which I thought would be of interest;—and these late lines come not as a letter, but only an excuse. For I know nothing now of interest, except perhaps the loss of my Liberators, which the Custom House of his Holiness, (under the general rule, I believe, forbidding all which have not passed the censorship,) took from me as I went up to Rome, and which now lie at Civita Vecchia, waiting for me, if I ever return that way. 'Tis a melancholy tour, this, through Europe; and I do not understand how any one can return from it, without being, in Coleridge's phrase, 'a sadder and a wiser man.' Every reflecting mind must be struck, at home, with the many social evils which prevail around; but the most careless eye cannot avoid seeing the painful contrast which saddens one here at every step; wealth beyond that of fairy tales, and poverty all bare and starved at its side;—refinement face to face with barbarism;—cultivation which hardly finds room to be, crowded out on all sides by so much debasement.

I have been surprised to find so much faith in Catholicism as seems to exist among the Italians, even those who make what is called the higher classes. Men and women of every rank, and with every appearance of sincerity, really crowd the churches. Amid the regret with which a Protestant witnesses such a fact, there is much to admire in the democratic method of Catholic worship.—No 'sit thou here,' and 'stand thou there' spirit classes out the audience—no hateful honeycomb of pews deforms the church. The beggar in rags, the peasant in his soiled and labor-stained homespun, kneel on the broad marble, side by side with fashion and rank, right under the hundred lamps which burn constantly at the high altar of St. Peter's; and this, all unnoticed, and seemingly unconscious of any difference between himself and his fellow worshippers. This is as it should be:—here at least Rome preserves the spirit of the early ages. 'Twas well said,

'I love the ever open door,
That welcomes to the house of God;
I love the wide-spread marble floor,
By every foot in freedom trod.'

One pardons much for such a trait; and I have lost half my dislike to the wearisomely frequent priestly dress, since I have seen it worn by a colored man, who mingles freely with those about him, and was not stared at as a monster, when he entered the frowning portal of the Propaganda College at Rome.

Italy, however, is truly the land where 'every prospect pleases, and only man is vile.' Here one seems really to stand on the matchless shores of that sea, where have passed the most interesting events in the history of our race.—All Europe is, indeed, the treasure-house of rich memories—with every city a shrine. Mayence, the mother of printing and free trade;—Amalfi, with her Pandects, the fountain of law—her compass of commerce—her Masaniello of popular freedom;—Naples, with her buried satellite of Pompeii;—Florence, with her galaxy of genius;—Rome, whose name is at once history and description, will indeed ever be the 'Meccas of the mind.' One must see them to realize the boundless wealth, the luxury, the refinement of art, to which the ancients had attained.—The modern world deems itself rich when it gathers up only the fragments. But all the fascinations of art, all the luxuries of modern civilization, are no balance to the misery which bad laws and bad religion alike entail on the bulk of the people. The Apollo himself cannot dazzle one blind to the rags, want and misery which surround him. Nature is not wholly beautiful. For even when she marries a matchless sky to her bay of Naples, the impression is saddened by the presence of degraded and suffering humanity. When you meet in the space of the same street a man encompassed with all the equipage of wealth, and the beggar on whose brow disease and starvation have written broadly his title to your pity, the question is involuntary—Is this a Christian city? Are both these Christians? To my mind the answer is, no. In our own country the same contrast exists, but it is not so painfully prominent as here. I hope the discussion of this question of property will not cease, till the church is convinced that, from Christian lips, *ownership* means nothing but *responsibility for the right use* of what God has given—that the title of a needy brother is as sacred as the owner's own, and infringed upon, too, whenever that owner allows the syren voice of his own tastes to drown the cry of another's necessities.

The woman question is another in which every one, who becomes familiar with European customs, must, I think, take a still deeper interest than before. Most Americans are shocked to see woman engaged in every kind of labor, and doing full one half of the hard work on the continent, from macadamizing roads, up through every kind of agricultural and town work. The last link that is left of the Feudal system hangs on the limbs of woman. The superiority of man, which an age of violence and military organization originated, still survives even in the lowest classes; and you never meet a band of peasants by the road-side with a heavy burden among them, that you do not see it on the head of woman, while the men of the party lounge carelessly along. There is one great advantage in this, though little meant as such. Women are almost, if not entirely, as unrestrained in action and choice of pursuit as men: and this state of things gives us an opportunity of observing how woman's approach to the enjoyment of her rights, even under so many unfavorable circumstances, affects society. A poor education and false faith, of course, deeply affect the moral condition of these nations, but making a fair allowance for both—if the testimony of those long resident here may be trusted—this difference of social habits in no degree contributes to render it inferior to our own. The experiment of woman's presence every where in social life—of sex debarring her from no scene, and excusing her from no toil—has been fairly tried in France, Italy and Germany, and its compatibility with good morals and every social good put beyond a doubt.—I can give only a traveller's impression, with such information as he gathers in passing, and refer especially to those classes whom a kind Providence has obliged to let their own hands minister to their wants. Among others, of course, wealth and idleness produce only corruption. Every hour of life, and especially every step we have taken in these countries, show us more and more the importance of the woman question, as it is called.

You must not think my long silence has sprung from any want of interest in the cause. This moral stagnation and death here only make us value more highly the stirring arena of home. You live fast, battling for humanity against so many forms of oppression. None know what it is to live, till they redeem life from its seeming monotony, by laying it a sacrifice on the altar of some great cause. There is more happiness in one such hour than in dwelling forever with the beautiful and grand, which Angelo's chisel has redeemed from the 'marble chaos'—or the pencil of Raphael has given to immortality.

Nothing brings home so pleasantly, or with so much vividness to Ann, as seeing a colored man occasionally in the street; so you see we are ready to return to our posts in nothing changed. Indeed, there is one view in which I have learned to value my absence. I recognize, in some degree, the truth of the assertion, that associations tend to destroy individual independence; and I have found difficulty in answering others, (however clear my own mind might be,) when charged with taking steps which the sober judgment of age would regret, with being hurried recklessly forward by the enthusiasm of the moment and the excitement of heated meetings. I am glad, therefore, to have had the opportunity of holding up the cause, with all its incidents and bearings calmly before my own mind,—of having distance of place perform, as far as possible, the part of distance of years,—of being able to look back, cleared of all excitement, though not I hope of all enthusiasm, by others scenes and studies, upon the course we have taken the last few years; and, having done so, I am rejoiced to say, that every hour of such thought convinces me, more and more, of the overwhelming claims our cause has on the life-long devotion of each of us—of the perfect rightfulness, as well as high expediency of every step we have taken—recognizing still more clearly than ever the folly of yielding up its mighty interests to prejudices, however sacred,—or, on the other hand, of attempting to gain it a temporary success by sacrificing to it other rights, which, whether more or less important, are still rights, and to be sacredly respected:—and I hope to be permitted to return to my place, prepared to urge its claims with more earnestness, and to stand fearlessly by it without a doubt of its success.

When Paul's 'appeal unto Cæsar' brought him into this Bay of Naples, he must have seen all its fair shores and jutting headlands covered with bath and villa, imperial palaces and temples of the gods. A prisoner of a despised race, he stood perhaps for the first time, in the presence of the pomp and luxury of the Roman people. Even amid their ruins, I could not but realize how strong the faith of the apostle to believe that the message he bore would triumph alike over their power and their religion. Struggling against priest and people, may we cherish a like faith.

Yours truly,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Woman.

The following are a few of the sentences abounding in ancient and modern literature, well calculated to excite reflection in the mind of a sensible woman.

More than a thousand women is one man
Worthy to see the light of life.

Ipigenia of Euripides.

I hate the knowing dame, nor in my house
Be one more wise than woman ought to be.

Hippolytus of Euripides.

Silence and a chaste reserve
Is woman's genuine praise, and to remain
Quiet within the house.

Heraclidæ of Euripides.

A foolish husband fears his wife; a prudent wife obeys her husband.—*Chinese Proverb.*

Women, whenever they would perk it and lord it over their husbands, ought to remember that, both by creation and transgression, they are made to be in subjection to them. Such a thing *may* happen as that the woman, not the man, may be in the right; (I mean when both are godly,) but ordinarily it is otherwise.—*John Bunyan.*

I consider woman as a beautiful romantic *animal*, that may be adorned with furs and feathers, pearls and diamonds ores and silks. The lynx shall cast its skin at her feet to make her a tippet; the peacock, parrot and swan, shall pay contributions to her muff; the sea shall be searched for shells, and the rocks for gems; and every part of nature furnish out its share towards the embellishment of a creature that is the most consummate work of it.—*Addison.*

For a woman, it is geography enough to know all the rooms in her house, and chemistry enough to be able to keep the pot boiling.—*Old English writer.*

Hannah More, speaking of her determination not to read the "Rights of Woman," says: "There is something fantastic and absurd in the very title! To be unstable and capricious, I really think, is but too characteristic of our sex; and there is perhaps no *animal* so much indebted to subordination for its good behaviour as woman."

Pope says, "Most women have no character at all;" and Henry Matthews comments on it thus: "This need not, I think, offend the sex; on the contrary, it is perhaps the highest merit in a woman that she is without those strongly marked peculiarities which constitute what is called a character in man. In her, to be prominent is to be offensive; and her most engaging qualities are of that unobtrusive kind which belong rather to the *sex*, than to the *individual*.

Adam Clarke, in his Life, informs us that he had at first some prejudice against hearing the preaching of a certain Miss Sewall, whose labors had been eminently blessed in the Methodist church; but these scruples were overcome by a friend, who said to him, "If an *ass* reproved Balaam, and a *barn-door fowl* reproved Peter, why should not a *woman* reprove sin?"

It is not easy to keep up a conversation with women in company. It is thought a piece of rudeness to differ from them. It is not quite fair to ask them a *reason* for what they say.—*Hazlitt's Plain Speaker.*

Stiff ale, stinging tobacco, and a girl in her smart dress, are the best things.—*Goethe's Faust.*

Verily, said I, the Turks are not so bad, after all; they have handsome wives; and a handsome wife comes *next* after chibouks and coffee.—*Stephens' Incidents of Travel.*

Woman never looks so interesting as when leaning on the arm of a soldier.—*Ib.*

The same writer speaks thus of meeting thirteen ladies of the harem, all belonging to one man: "Verily, thought I, there are exceedingly good points about the Turks; chibouks, coffee, and as many wives as they please. It made me whistle to think of it. * * * * * *We* begin by writing on the innocent, unformed minds of women, that "Born for their use, we live but to oblige them." The consequence is ——— I will will not say what; but this I do know, that *here* the twig is so bent that they become as gentle, as docile, and as tractable as *any domestic animal*. I say again, there are many exceeding good points about the Turks."

Slave Markets.—Egypt.

GRAND CAIRO.

I was induced, from curiosity, to visit the slave market, which has long been established in this quarter. Although I may attempt a description of the objects which I witnessed, yet no idea can be conveyed of those painful sensations which I experienced on this occasion. The place set apart for this scandalous traffic is a large court of the principal street, in the form of a quadrangle, with a range of apartments around, elevated about twenty feet from the ground, to which there is access by a staircase at one end, and a sort of platform or gallery in front of the apartments, not unlike what we meet with in the yards of inns in London. In one place I observed a Turkish woman bargaining for the purchase of a young female, who was stripped previously for the purpose of examination, turned round, her joints felt, her tongue inspected, and, after a deal of negotiation, refused to be purchased. In others I saw wretched creatures, of all ages up to fifty years, in a state of nudity, and absolutely huddled together in hovels, like cattle. At the door of a miserable den sat the cold-hearted guardian, or keeper, of the receptacle of wo; a tyrannical looking fellow, seated on the ground, cross-legged and smoking.—He was watching for the arrival of purchasers; and, having presumed I had come to market with this view, he demanded in a growling tone, if I wanted a boy or a girl. At this time a poor helpless child was turned out. I could not suppress a tear at the incident, and the unfeeling conduct of the barbarian; and I hurried away from a scene in which it would be difficult to determine, whether human nature appears in its most guilty or its most abject form.

This depot continues always well stocked with slaves of both sexes, who arrive in prodigious numbers in boats, from Nubia, in Upper Egypt. Upon any person being observed to enter it, (which is always concluded to be for the purpose of buying these despised creatures,) they are turned out from their den quickly, as such person passes along, when they are ranked and exhibited by their inhuman keeper.—Such, indeed, appears to be their own anxiety to be purchased, so as to be liberated from their captivity, that there seemed to be a marked rivalship and emulation among them, by looks and motions, which of them should attract most attention. Some of them were completely black, with an excellent set of teeth, were finely formed, and had a mere rag thrown round part of the body.—*Wilson.*

ALEXANDRIA.

On visiting the slave-market, I found it as it existed twelve years ago, crowded with female negroes, mostly children under fourteen years. I saw only one Abyssinian, and no white slaves at all. On inquiring the prices, I found that of the female children about one-third more than that of the male. A female child of ten or twelve years old sixty-five dollars; a boy of the same age forty; an adult negress eighty dollars. There was not an adult male negro slave in the bazaar. The sheds of the slave-mart in Alexandria have fallen into decay since my last visit. Fortunately for humanity, there were no Greek lands to be ravaged by the soldiers of his highness; and, consequently, there were no Christian women exposed for sale in the market. I inquired particularly for white slaves, having heard of the fate of the unfortunate Druse women of Syria, who were recently enslaved, carried away, and sold by the Albanian soldiers of Ibrahim Pacha—those lawless mercenaries whom Mohammed Ali could not keep in Egypt on account of their turbulence, and who were let loose on the unfortunate people of Syria, in the late insurrection. However, I had the satisfaction to find that none of these poor women had been carried to Alexandria, and that the Pacha had given orders to have them taken out of the hands of the Albanians, and restored to their friends. One of the slave-dealers in the market directed us to a lane off the bazaar, where he told us some merchants were to be found who had white women for sale. On proceeding there we were informed, that at that moment there were no women, either Circassian or Georgian for sale, the last they had were sold. These women Christians are not permitted openly to purchase, but the negro-slaves there is no objection made to their buying.—*Dr. Madden's Egypt and Mohammed Ali.*

Slave-markets: United States.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

"Let us proceed, gentlemen," cried the seller of human flesh, in a stentorian voice; "let us proceed; a woman for sale!"

"An excellent woman; not a fault! And a little boy in the bargain. How much for the mother and child? 250 dollars; very well, sir, 250 to begin. Some one has bid 250. Truly, gentlemen, they sell cattle for a larger price 250! look at these eyes, examine these limbs—shall I say 260? Thanks, gentlemen, some one has bid 260. It seems to me that I heard 275;—go on, gentlemen; I have never sold such a bargain. How? 280 for the best cook, the best washer, and the best dress-maker in Virginia? Must I sell her for the miserable price of 280? 300; two gentlemen have said 300. Very well, gentlemen: I am happy to see you begin to warm a little; some one bid 310—310, going—330—335—340—340, going; upon my honor, gentlemen, it is indeed a sacrifice to lose so good a cook: a great bargain for 340 dollars. Reflect upon it a little, and do not forget there is a little boy in the bargain."

Here our auctioneer was interrupted in his harangue by one of his customers, a man whose appearance had inspired me from the first moment, with a feeling of horror, and who, with the indifference and sang froid of an assassin, made to him the following observation: "As for the negro child, it is good for nothing; it is not worth a day's nourishment; and if I have the mother, I will give away the child very quick; the first bidder will be able to have it a cheap bargain."

I glanced at the unfortunate mother, anxious to see what effect this barbarous proposal would have upon her. She did not speak, but a profound sadness was impressed on her countenance. The little innocent which she held in her arms fixed his large eyes upon her, as if saying, "mamma, why do you weep?" Then he turned towards the witnesses of this heart-rending scene, with an expression that seemed to ask what they had done to his mother to make her weep so bitterly. No, never, will this moment escape my memory; it has confirmed me for all my life in the horror that I already felt at this infamous traffic. The auction continued, and finally the crier striking a heavy blow with a hammer, pronounced the award to Mr. ———, for 360 dollars. The victim descended from the table, and was led away by the purchaser. The other slaves were sold in the same manner as poor Betsy. Julia was sold at 326 dollars, and Augustus at 105. They both fell to the same individual who had purchased the former lot.—*Arfwedsen.*

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

I saw droves of the poor fellows driven to the slave-markets kept in different parts of the city, one of which I visited. The arrangements of this place appeared something like our northern horse-markets, having sheds, or barns, in the rear of a public house, where alcohol was a handy ingredient to stimulate the spirit of jockeying. As the traders appeared, lots of negroes were brought from the stables into the bar-room, and by a flourish of the whip were made to assume an active appearance. "What will you give for these fellows?" "How old are they?" "Are they healthy?" "Are they quick?" &c. At the same time the owner would give them a cut with a cowhide, and tell them to dance and jump, cursing and swearing at them if they did not move quick. In fact, all the transactions in buying and selling slaves partake of jockeyship, as much as buying and selling horses. There was as little regard paid to the feelings of the former as we witness in the latter.

From these scenes I turn to another, which took place in front of the noble Exchange building, in the heart of the city. On the left side of the steps, as you leave the main hall, immediately under the windows of that proud building, was a stage built, on which a mother with eight children were placed and sold at auction. I watched their emotions closely, and saw their feelings were in accordance to human nature. The sale began with the eldest child, who, being struck off to the highest bidder, was taken from the stage or platform by the purchaser, and led to his waggon and stowed away, to be carried into the country; the second and third were also sold, and so until seven of the children were torn from their mother, while her discernment told her that they were to be separated probably for ever, causing in that mother the most agonizing sobs and cries, in which the children seemed to share. The scene beggars description; suffice it to say, it was sufficient to cause tears from one at least "whose skin was not colored like their own," and I was not ashamed to give vent to them.—*Stone.*

Extracts from Combe's Notes on the U. S.

"GLASGOW EMANCIPATION.—An annual meeting was held August 1st, 1840, in the Chapel of the Rev. Dr Wardlaw; the directors of the Society were orthodox Quakers, and other persons of similar principles. No places on the platform were appointed for James and Lucretia Mott. No invitation was given them to address the assembly. 'The American friends,' says the Christian Pioneer, 'bore about them the taint of heresy.' * * * * * The object of the meeting in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel was the promotion of the cause of emancipation; and it had no necessary connection with any religious opinions, except those of practical Christianity, in which all sects are agreed. The spirit, therefore, which excluded them, on account of their religious opinions, was one of hatred and persecution. When I recall the liberal cordiality with which my Lectures on Phrenology were received in Philadelphia, by the Friends of both persuasions, the Orthodox as well as the Hicksites, and the hospitable attentions which I received from both, and contrast it with the treatment Mr. and Mrs. Mott have met with in Scotland, I blush for the intolerance of my country. These proceedings certainly show that the directors of the Glasgow Emancipation Society stand in need of emancipation from more degrading fetters than those even of which they profess the desire to free the negro."

"ANTI-ABOLITION MEETING.—The town of Newark, in New-Jersey, was taunted with manufacturing the whips with which the slaves are flogged in the South. It replied that it manufactured whips in general, and that carters use the article alledged to be employed in scourging the slaves. The inhabitants have held a meeting, James Millar, Esq. the mayor, in the chair, at which violent resolutions were passed; the last of which declares 'that the subject of slavery appertains to the slave states alone—that the question of its duration or abolition belongs exclusively to them—and that the meddling interference of others is uncalled for by any considerations of public justice, or of public policy.' The opinion expressed in this resolution prevails generally in the United States."

"SLAVE JAILS.—In my 1st vol. I inserted several advertisements by slave merchants in Washington, the capital; that the jails mentioned in them are licensed, directly or indirectly, by the United States' government, as sovereigns of the District of Columbia; and that they, or the city of Washington, draw $400 a year from each, as the price of the license! This may be meant to operate as a check on their increase, and to give an opportunity for laying them under regulations; but the whole transactions of these slave-dealers are sadly in discord with the principles of humanity and justice consecrated by the American Union."

"SLAVERY.—In Kentucky, slavery exists in its mildest form, and agriculture is the chief employment of the slaves. A farmer buys his ploughman as he does his horses and cattle, and his price is from $700 to $800.—Nevertheless, Thomas Jefferson's picture of the effects of slavery is realized even here. I had the pleasure of meeting a gentleman, a native of Virginia, who mentioned that he had emancipated his slaves and removed to a free state, because, among other effects, he saw that slavery was corrupting the minds of his children. He added, however, that his slaves had not profited by their freedom; the incapacity for self-action and self-control, which slavery engenders, renders emancipated Africans, in general, unfit to struggle successfully with the difficulties which surround them. The difficulties arise from the existence of slavery and slave-laws, and of habits of feeling connected with them, in the society into which they are thrown. By them the negroes are degraded and oppressed after they are free, and often become immoral and miserable. Universal emancipation, which should raise all the Africans at once to the condition of free men, and impose on the whites the two-fold duty of treating them with kindness and directing their industrial efforts, will probably prove the only safe and beneficial means of terminating slavery."

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Combe transmitted his book to a friend in America, requesting him to exercise jurisdiction over its publication; to abridge, correct, soften, &c.; stipulating merely that he should "not depart from the objects and principles which characterize the work." This friend is understood to be Dr. Bell of Philadelphia; a man of high reputation in medical literature. On the subject of slavery he is either uninformed, or has great moral obliquity of vision; perhaps both. He has suffered Combe's testimony against slavery to stand, but he has loaded the text with numerous notes, calculated to weaken its influence as much as possible. Thus when Combe alludes to the action of Congress with regard to Anti-slavery petitions, he informs the reader that "Virginia and the Carolinas might petition Congress to allow them the privilege of collecting the duties on customs, for their own special benefit, just as constitutionally as Massachusetts and Connecticut could petition the same body to do away with slavery in the first mentioned States." "Without the consent of Virginia and Maryland, which ceded the District of Columbia, abolition there would be a breach of clearly implied, if not written obligation." Combe states that Congress could legitimately pass laws prohibiting the internal slave-trade; but Dr. Bell appends a note, contradicting the opinion of Daniel Webster, as well as Mr. Combe, on this point. He says, "This is not correct.—The jurisdiction of Congress extends over foreign, not domestic trade. It could no more prohibit the sale and transfer of negroes from one State to another, than it could those of cotton or wheat, as the Constitution now stands." He informs us, too, that "Public opinion and individual action, the proper preludes and inducements to State legislative enactments in the slaveholding States, were strongly in favor of the ultimate necessity of emancipation, before the fury of abolitionism began to rage; and even now they are tending toward their benevolent object, in despite of this fury." When the author alludes to petitions rejected by Congress, the friendly annotator subjoins, "*Received* these petitions always are, but not *acted* on. * * * The right of petition implies at least a respectful tone on the part of the petitioners; but at any rate a *compulsory* reception by the party petitioned, especially if these latter are abused by every epithet, which can designate them as the most odious and abhorrent to our nature."

Speaking of the Jamaica negroes, Mr. Combe says, "The wages paid them for three days' labor, added to the produce of their grounds, suffice to supply all their wants for the week; and they have not yet contracted artificial tastes, which would call for extra labor to procure the means of their gratification." His supervisor adds: "Or it may be said that their intellect seeks for no wider range of exercise than that suggested and impelled by the mere gratification of the animal appetites. An indifferent commentary this on the blessings of freedom, and the mind of the negroes. But whilst we admit that this is not a proof of their inability to appreciate the boon, so neither can it be called conclusive of the success of the experiment of 'general, unconditional, and of course unprepared emancipation;' which, be it added, has not as yet answered the expectations of its sober friends in Jamaica, however it may produce good results in the smaller West India Islands."

After these specimens, the intelligent reader needs not to be informed that Dr. Bell is a warm admirer of Colonization, and gives all the influence of his notes to sustain it. Again we repeat that it is a great pity Mr. Combe did not trust entirely to his own good sense in the publication of this work. Doubtless it was a love of accuracy which led him to do otherwise; but a few mistakes in regard to fact would have been a much slighter evil, than to have his pages disfigured by so many moral blunders.

ANTIQUITIES OF CENTRAL AMERICA.—We listened last evening with interest and pleasure to the introductory lecture of Mr. Stephens, on the antiquities of Central America, delivered at the Stuyvesant Institute, before a numerous and respectable audience. We have read in detached parts the report of Captain del Rio, made by order of Charles IV. of Spain, in 1783; the more recent work of Lord Kingsborough, on Mexican and Tultucan antiquities; a work published a few years ago in Paris, and various correspondence from Tobasco, principally addressed to the late Dr. Mitchell, and have always felt the deepest interest in the subject: but here we had before us two living witnesses of the mighty ruins of an unknown people, on our own continent—Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood, both distinguished travellers, who had in their time visited Thebes and Memphis, the Pyramids and all the wonders of Egypt, and consequently were in every respect well qualified not only to explore, but by comparison, to throw great light on the architecture and character of those mighty ruins by which they were surrounded. These enterprising travellers encountered the greatest difficulties in penetrating what may be deemed a vast wilderness of forests, having ignorant Indians as guides, and no means of clearing the ruins of the immense trees and thick underwood, which almost obscured them from the sight within the distance of a few hundred yards. The first ruins visited were those of Copan, then Palenque, and finally Uxmal, a great city on a vast plain, on the plantation of some gentleman, who seemed to know nothing of its existence, and could give no account of it. A city of palaces, of vast masses of stone displaying great architectural beauty—terrace on terrace, hundreds of feet feet in length, in admirable preservation. Pyramids, colossal figures, hieroglyphics, courts, temples, altars, &c. which place the splendor of Ninevah and Babylon, of Balbec, Palmyra, Thebes and Memphis, and of all the mighty wonders of the East, the history of which we have, far in the back ground. Who built—who inhabited these cities?—How many thousand years have passed since their inhabitants have been gathered to their fathers? Where did they arise from originally? We agree with Mr. Stephens, who offers no speculation on the subject, that the history of the world is yet to be written. What two solitary travellers, almost alone in these vast ruins, could effect, has been done by Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood; but to lay bare these antiquities, some government, having the means and the enterprise, must send out a commission and an exploring party on a vast scale; whole forests must be cut down, roads must be made, the most learned antiquarians must be employed on the mission, and the results will astonish and amaze the civilized world. What government is to undertake this? France only, under the direction of the Institute, possesses the means, the learning, and the enterprise, to make the discovery, and we hope it will forthwith occupy public attention, for we are persuaded that hereafter the ruins of Central America, Peru, and Mexico, and not Egypt, will be the attraction to travellers.—*New-York Times.*

AFFECTING INCIDENT.—A highly respectable physician had charge of a patient, a young man, who was almost idiotic from the suppression of all his faculties. He never spoke, and never moved voluntarily, but sat habitually with his hand shading his eyes. The physician sent him to walk as a remedial measure. In the neighborhood, a beautiful young girl of sixteen lived with her parents;—she used to see the young man in his walks and speak kindly to him. For some time he took no notice of her; but after meeting her for several months, he began to look for her, and to feel disappointed if she did not appear. He became so much interested, that he directed his steps voluntarily to her father's cottage, and gave her bouquets of flowers. By degrees he conversed with her through the window. His mental faculties were roused; the dawn of convalescence appeared. The girl was virtuous, intelligent, and lovely, and encouraged his visits when told that she was benefitting his mental health. She asked him if he could read and write. He answered no. She wrote some lines to him to induce him to learn. This had the desired effect. He applied himself to study, and soon wrote good and sensible letters to her. He recovered his reason. She was married to a young man from a neighboring city. Great fears were entertained that this event would undo the good which she had accomplished. The young patient sustained a severe shock, but his mind did not sink under it. He acquiesced in the propriety of her [illegible] to improve, and at last was restored to his family cured. She had a child, and was [illegible] brought to the same hospital perfectly insane. The young man heard of this event, and was exceedingly anxious to see her; but an interview was denied to him, both on her account and his own. She died. He continued well, and became an active member of society.—*Combe's Notes on the U. S.*

THE DEBTOR.—The man is in debt; he is obliged to look in the face of people, and, perhaps poor people, whom he cannot pay. It is a situation infinitely irritating and mortifying. We are a people, I know, to a proverb, reckless of debt—reckless, at least, about plunging into it, and find the situation an easy one. No man can, without passing, I had almost said, through worse than purgatorial torments, become callous to the demand for payment. It turns the whole of life into a scene of misery and mortification—makes its whole business and action a series of sacrifices, and shifts, and subterfuges. Home itself, the last refuge of virtue and peace—the very home that has lost its independence in its splendor, that is not protected from the intrusive step and contemptuous tone of the unsatified creditor—has lost its charm. It is no longer a sanctuary; and it is but too likely to be forsaken for other resorts. Many a man, not only in the city, but in the country, has gone down in character and self-respect, in virtue and hope, under the accumulated weight of these overwhelming embarrassments.—*Dewey.*

DECEIVING CHILDREN.—Dr B. was called to visit a sick boy, twelve years of age. As he entered the house, the mother took him aside and told him she could not get her boy to take any medicine, *except she deceived him.*

'Well, then,' said Dr. B., 'I shall not give him any.—He is old enough to be reasoned with.'

He went to the boy, and after an examination, said to him, 'My little man, you are very sick, and you must take some medicine. It will taste badly, and make you feel badly for a little while; and then, I expect, it will make you feel better.'

The doctor prepared the medicine and the boy took it, like a man, without the least resistance; and he would take from his mother any thing that the *physician* had prescribed; but he would take nothing else from her. She had so often deceived him and told him '*it was good*,' when she gave him medicines, that he would not trust to any thing she said. But he saw at once that Dr. B. was telling him the *truth*, and he trusted him. He knew, when he took the bitter draught, just what to expect.

This simple incident contains instructions of deep and solemn importance, deserving the careful consideration of every parent. '*Honesty*,' *with children*, as well as with all others, and in all other circumstances, 'is the best policy.'—*Sabbath School Visiter.*

ANCIENT NEWSPAPERS.—The Romans, though we are apt to overlook the fact, had registers of politics and intelligence, which were really not unlike our own newspapers in their contents, but immeasurably inferior in their mode of circulation. The journals of the senate and the national conventions long contained little more than entries resembling those in our collected acts of parliament.—These furnished most of the materials from which, till 625, the pontiffs compiled annals; and there is also proof that, after the republic had extended its dominions, these official journals were regularly copied and transmitted to the public men living at a distance. But these sources were not enough. Every man abroad had his correspondent in Rome; and when the task of collecting news became more difficult, several persons assumed newsmongering as a trade, taking in short hand notes of the proceedings of public meetings, and selling copies of them, as well as that of the common gossip of the day, and the official journals.

Julius Cæsar, in 694, established a regular system for recording the deliberations both of the senate and the conventions, in a form much like our reports of parliamentary debates; and he allowed these accounts to be copied and freely circulated. Although Augustus stopped the publication of the reports, the restraint was soon after withdrawn; and ever after their introduction by Julius, these and all other archives of the state were so unreservedly open to the public, and their contents were diffused in so many shapes, that we are often uncertain whether the sources to which the Roman authors refer are these official reports, or the notes of professional short-hand writers, or, finally, those collections of common news that were handed about with other pieces of information.—*Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XXIX.*

The *Allgmeine Zeitung*, in a well drawn article compiled from the English parliamentary papers, has diffused thoughout Europe the facts in relation to the slave-trade which throw so much discredit on the United States. The article concludes in the following terms;—"The false position in which the United States have placed themselves, in respect to everything nearly or remotely connected with slavery, is such, that in matters of this kind neither justice nor decorum is to be expected from them: the president being well aware that the elections depend on slave-holders and slave-dealers. How long England will tolerate these wretched subterfuges it is difficult to say; but the question will probably become one of a more serious discussion than that which respects the Canadian boundary, for the people of England will never allow their government to relax in its efforts to obtain the suppression of the slave-trade."

COMMUNICATIONS.

Anniversary in Connecticut.

HARTFORD, May 21st, 1841.

To the Editor of the National A. S. Standard:

The Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society has just closed its anniversary meetings; and the true hearted philanthropists of Connecticut have returned every one to their tents, with renewed strength, and increased zeal at the result of their convocation, and the prospects before them for the furtherance of their noble and humane enterprise for the ensuing year. Considering the great odds with which the friends of human rights and impartial liberty, have had to contend, in Connecticut, the results of the meeting must be considered a signal achievement to their cause. Never was a majority so completely frustrated in all their designs, or an enemy's camp more thoroughly bombarded, than that of Connecticut "*new organization*." There was a noble and spontaneous rallying of the uncompromising friends of human liberty, whose energies were roused up to vigorous and healthy action by the honest-hearted and eloquent appeals of that noble champion of human rights, C. C. Burleigh. Plans had been devised to new organize the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society, and to hitch it on the locomotive of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Circulars, notifying this design, had been issued and sent to the opposers of impartial liberty, to rally at the meeting. Bigotry was the presiding genius of the meeting. It bore down like an incubus upon the true-hearted friends of Christian philanthropy and equal liberty. Almost in the very first instance of the meeting, a spirit of intolerance (without precedent in an anti-slavery meeting,) was exhibited by the President, in calling C. C. Burleigh to order, while assaying to make a few remarks respecting the annual report, (a tame and edgeless concern,) alleging that he was not a member of the society. Governing philanthropy by sectarian rules, and confining it to geographical lines, are in perfectly good keeping with each other.

A business committee was appointed, after which Elder Guild introduced a resolution inviting "All persons who believe in the principles of immediate emancipation, to unite with the Society in its deliberations;" which was passed without dissent. James C. Fuller called up the annual report, and objected to the appellation of Christian to those church organizations that countenanced prejudice against color, and sustained the *nigger pew*, as in the report. Mr. Pennington sustained friend Fuller with some pungent remarks. Reverend Mr. Sprague defended the report. Mr. Brewer moved the word 'Christian,' before churches, be stricken out; which motion prevailed. C. C. Burleigh then offered a resolution, that American slavery was a national system, &c., dependent on the northern States for support; which was defended by him in a powerful and incontrovertible manner, until the hour for adjournment; when the resolution was laid on the table for the business committee to make their report, to wit: that the afternoon session be devoted to set speeches, from Messrs Sturge, Burleigh, and Garnett. J. C. Fuller offered an objection to the report, that spontaneous remarks from the hard-fisted yeomanry would be more edifying than speeches from those who make speechifying their trade. The report was accepted.

Afternoon.—J. Sturge not having arrived, C. C. Burleigh resumed the discussion of his resolution, which was adopted. Mr. Garnett, from Troy, introduced a resolution against the anti-christian and anti-republican feeling, called prejudice, and sustained it in an interesting speech; at the close of which, Abby Kelley offered an amendment to the resolution, and was about sustaining it with a few remarks, when the chair called her to order, and decided she could not be permitted to speak in that meeting. When reminded of the resolution, inviting "all persons," &c. he said it did not mean women. An appeal was taken from the decision of the chair, and the yeas and nays taken; 64 to sustain the chair, and 35 against the decision. The question was decided by a majority of the *men* present; the President begging the very question in dispute—the women's right to vote—by directing the secretary not to call *their* names. *Atherton-like*, the majority voted to gag humanity. Joseph Sturge then arrived, and addressed the meeting.

Thursday Morning.—After the meeting was opened, and minutes of the previous day read, a motion was made to have the resolution passed by the society last year, read, and that portion which excludes women from speaking and acting in the meetings of the society, rescinded. A long and spirited debate ensued. Some Erasmuses called for compromise,—"peaceful error rather than boisterous truth." The true friends, like old Bancroldt, were willing for peace, but not at the expense of principle.—The yeas and nays were ordered; and, while being taken, David Plumb asked why his name was omitted? The reply was, he, by removing from the State, ceased to be a member of the society. A question of order arose, and the President ordered the secretary to continue the roll.—Order was the call. Chair said he could not take the question until the one pending was first decided. An appeal was taken from the chair. The chair refused to put the question of appeal. Much confusion, and cry of order, ensued. C. C. Burleigh declared the secretary should not proceed any further, until the President put the question, unless he was put down by physical force. The chair then put the question, and the house sustained the appeal from the chair.* The roll was continued, and the gagging resolution sustained; yeas 49, nays 36. Rev. Mr. Sprague offered a resolution to amend the Constitution so as to for ever gag the women; which he withdrew, on being informed by some of his coadjutors that they did not possess the voting power to do it. He then made a motion to appoint a committee to report some method to obviate such grievous obtrusions of the women hereafter. The motion was laid on the table.

Hiram Wilson of the Canada Mission, then addressed the meeting, giving an interesting narrative of the ten thousand fugitives from the tyranny of republican America. Bro. W. related an interesting occurrence, which forcibly illustrated the propensity of women to get out of their appropriate sphere "in the cause" of humanity. A fugitive from the domestic institutions of the South was arrested, on complaint of his master, as a felon, (having run away with his clothes which his master claimed,) and lodged in jail. The authorities were about to deliver him to his master in chains, when a company of men and women assembled, and whilst the women thrust rails into the wagon wheels, to stop them, the men rescued the innocent victim from his oppressors. I. Codding called on James C. Fuller to give a further account of the Canada Mission. Friend Fuller arose and said he would not address a Convention that excluded half the human family, while it pretended to be opposed to slavery. If he wanted such an audience, he would go to the southern slaveholders. Notice was then given to the minority of an opportunity to sign a remonstrance against the vote of the majority.—After the adjournment, Joseph Sturge, *Quaker!* from England, advised those who could not agree to let women speak in their meetings, to secede; and stated that the London Committee had resolved to exclude women delegates from future World's Conventions!

Afternoon.—The Nominating Committee reported the old list of officers for the ensuing year; most of which was accepted.† A motion was then made, with apparent chagrin, to adjourn sine die—which was finally withdrawn. The protest of the minority, signed by forty-two individuals, was then read, and a request was made to have it appended to the doings of the meeting, and published with them. I. Codding objected to it, as introducing an argument in defence of the minority; the motion to append the protest prevailed.

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions, which, after amendments, were adopted:

First Resolution approving the course of the Charter Oak, and pledging the friends to sustain it. A motion was made to cut off the fore part of the resolve—opposed by I. Codding, who said they had endeavored to keep all foreign topics out of the paper; though by so doing they had offended some who had endeavored to introduce the non-resistance question into it. He was asked to specify, to give names. After some hesitancy, he called on the Secretary to know if it was not so? The Secretary replied in the negative. Whereupon he was told, "thou art the man, who has introduced non-resistance into the Charter Oak—(witness the April No.)—and now have the effrontery to charge it upon others." The motion to cut off the fore part of the resolution passed, and the remainder faintly responded to.

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* C. C. Burleigh says: "Many of us were not a little surprised that a man so truly estimable and amiable, and withal so sensible, and in general sound in judgment, as J. T. Norton, President of this Society, should have assumed a position which to us appeared so purely despotic."

† The list was taken up name by name, and all the nominations were confirmed except one. The exception was a man who was rejected from the Vice Presidency by—I think—a unanimous vote, because, at the last fall election, he voted for Harrison and Tyler.

Second Resolution, respecting the duty of abolitionists to abstain from the use of slave-labor produce, discussed by C. C. Burleigh and passed.

Third Resolution, respecting ministers and churches, who are slaveholders, or apologists, being unworthy the name of Christian ministers and churches, after being discussed pro and con for a short time, was laid on the table, on motion of I. Codding.

This resolution, if it had passed, would probably have rendered the Executive Committee, the Society, and their General Agent, as odious in the sight of the pro-slavery ministers and churches of Connecticut, as the old Anti-Slavery now is; and peradventure would have excluded I. Codding from some pulpits now accessible to him and new-organization.[*] The Society adjourned sine die.[†]

REMARKS.—The conduct of Ichabod Codding, who is General Agent of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society is deserving of some notice, as it is calculated to deceive many.

1st. At the Convention of Eastern Connecticut, he distinctly and solemnly declared that he was sorry he ever voted against women speaking and acting in anti-slavery meetings, and that he should never do so again. He has since then voted against them twice.

2d. Ichabod Codding has generally been in the habit of telling his audiences that the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society was opposed to the third political party measure; and leaving them to infer that he also was opposed to it, What ought his conduct to have been in good faith as a General Agent of the Society from which he receives his salary? Ought he not to have refused being the Society's Agent, or opposed such a measure also in accordance with the resolution of the Society? And ought not the Executive Committee to have demanded this, in justice to their constituents? On the contrary, he has repeatedly and publicly advocated that measure, while acting as agent of the Society.

3d Ichabod Codding has tried to prejudice the minds of his audiences, and those with whom he has labored, against the old anti-slavery men and women, by charging them with "dragging in non-resistance;" and then, in repeated instances, publicly, has dragged it in himself, to make capital of for new organization. One woould suppose that by his watchfulness, and that only, had he been able to keep the old anti-slavery reformers from introducing non-resistance; while he is the man who drags and lifts in foreign topics. This anniversary meeting has removed the veil from some eyes, which have heretofore been blinded by his subleties.

The light of truth will expose the sinister designs of new organization.

Yours for humanity,
E. D. HUDSON.

[*] Dr. Hawes was cautious and almost non-commital, though evidently leaning against the resolution. He said that he considerd himself bound to receive to communion in his church every person whom he had reason to suppose was owned of Christ, let his opinions and consequent practice be what they might. Nothing which did not amount to evidence that the applicant was not a Christian, would justify him in withholding Christian fellowship. He did not distinctly say whether or not he regarded slaveholding as affording such evidence, but left the impression—on my mind certainly, and I suppose on the minds of others—that he thought slaveholding not incompatible with Christian character.—*C. C. Burleigh.*

[†] From the Treasurer's Report, it appeared that the receipts and expenditures of the Society during the year, were each about $2,560,—not including a considerable amount contributed during the year to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Letter of J. Abraham.

WILBERFORCE, Canada, May 4th, 1841.

To the Editor of the National A. S. Standard:

I am personally a stranger to you, but a constant reader of your valuable paper. I believe you are attacking successfully the unjust principle which enslaves my fellow-men.

I am a Virginian by birth; and I am happy to say, that black and white Virginians can here meet in church or State, without one daring to set up the right of ownership over the other. The very air of the United States seems to be diseased with oppression. When I was in Virginia, I was taught to believe that the colored race were made inferior to the white; and I did believe this libel on God and man.

I want you to hear what Mr. Fowler, the great phrenologist, says of the head of Mr. Israel Lewis. I take exceptions only to one thing he says; and that is, where he declares "Mr. Lewis has a very *singular* head for one of his complexion." I wish you would publish the article for my satisfaction, and the good of the South. I should like to have them see what the great phrenologist says of the founder of the Wilberforce colony, who was once a slave boy in Virginia.

"Israel Lewis has a very singular head for one of his complexion; far better as to intelligence and force than one in a thousand. He is never idle, but always driving forward some important operation. He has great efficiency and force of character, with such indomitable perseverance that nothing can discourage him. The more difficulties thicken around him, the more determined he is to remove them. He has much social feeling, and will do what he can for friends, clan, or clique. He loves his independence better than all other considerations, and is ambitious to rise in the world. He has much moral feeling and integrity, and may be trusted to any amount. Has fine business and financial talents; keeps everything in order, accounts straight, and books well balanced. Has a full flow of words, and always plenty to say. Tells a story well, never forgets facts or places, and abounds in comparisons and arguments. He is very much of a gentleman, treats every one politely, and is too dignified to be trifled with. Rather proud, and very wilful, though judicious. Endowed with great powers of memory, observation, and illustration, yet is not profound. Is a favorite with children, has many friends and few enemies. He is not prone to believe, till he can see, and know positively. Has considerable literary talent, and will exert a good deal of influence. On the whole, he has a very uncommon head. (Signed)

O. FOWLER.

November 16, 1840."

I likewise send you a newspaper containing an outline of Mr. Lewis' connection with the Wilberforce colony, for the last ten years. Perhaps you will publish it in the Standard, for the information of those who take an interest in this settlement. I bid you God-speed in the good work to which you have been called.

J. ABRAHAM.

The following is the extract:

LONDON, Oct. 5, 1840.

As I pledged myself to many gentlemen in Montreal Quebec, and other towns which I passed through in the two Provinces to give the outlines of the origin of the Wilberforce Colony, from its commencement until now—as they wish to aid in building an institution of learning, on the manual labor plan—and as I intend making an application to the legislature for that purpose—I take great pleasure in giving this public exposition of the disbursements, for the satisfaction of those friends who have aided me in the object.

In the year 1829 I contracted with the Commissioners of the Canada Company for a township of land, or as much in the townships as I could pay for. In February 1830, I employed Mr. McConnell and his three sons to assist me; we commenced by cutting a road from the London line to the little Sable, the snow at that time being two feet deep; after which we built and finished two log houses. I then returned to Ancaster, and brought two families of colored people, and put them in the houses; I supplied them with provisions sufficient to last six months, and they went to work. I afterwards selected eight lots of 100 acres each, and proceeded to Toronto and paid into the hands of the Commissioners of the Canada Company on said lots £100, in proof of which I give the certificate of the Cashier of the Bank of U. C. for £87 10s, and I paid them £12 10s, which made the £100.

Bank of Upper Canada.
TORONTO, May 28, 1840.

This may certify that on the 1st day of September, 1830, Isreal Lewis, a colored man, deposited in this Bank the sum of eighty seven pounds ten shillings, currency, to the credit of his own account, and that on the 6th September, same year, he transferred the same by check to the Commissioners of the Canada Company, and that it was placed to the credit of their account acccordingly.

THOS. G. RIDOUT, Cashier.

I shall now proceed to mention some of the largest of the many disbursements made to advance the rising interests of the Colony, and shall mention the individuals to whom I paid the several amounts, and if in any instance I have committed an error, I trust they will not fail to correct me.

In 1830 I paid to the Canada Company £100; I also paid Mr. McConnell and sons for cutting road, building houses, provisions, &c. £125; from 1831 to 1836, I paid £89 1s, for teaming provisions, &c. for the Colonists, to Jas. Wells; I paid to James M'Mahon from 1830 to 1834 £22 for provisions, and other things for the use of the Colony; I paid to James Manchard from 1834 to 1835, £35 19s. for beef, pork, mutton, &c.; I paid in 1832 to Mr. A. Weir, beef, £5; paid in 1831 to John Willis for beef £5; paid in 1831 to Wm. Fitzgerald for beef £5;—paid to Mr. McConnell and sons from 1831 to 1833, for provisions and labor, £21 14s; paid to Wm. M'Mahan from 1830 to 1835, for provisions, £15 7s.; paid to George McMahan from 1831 to 1834, for beef and pork, £14 5s.; paid to Patrick Smith from 1830 to 1837, for all kinds of provisions, £68; paid Henry O'Neal from 1830 to 1834, for provisions and teaming, £10 10s.; paid Wm. Flood for wheat, stock, oats, hogs, &c., from 1830 to 1833, £23 10s.; paid Wm. Robertson and brothers, for pork, farming utensils, &c., from 1830 to 1834, £93 18s.; paid to James McFadden from 1830 to 1834, for lumber, teaming, &c. £60; paid John Jennings from 1830 to 1833, for goods, farming utensils, &c. £62; paid to Mr. Goodhue and Mr. Ladd, for goods &c. from 1830 to 1833, £15 10s.;—In 1831 I established a school in the Colony, which was taught by Miss Paul; in 1833 I also established and sustained another school, taught by Mr. Frayne, for the support of which I paid to the trusters, Messrs. Freeman and Smith, £25; in 1833 I paid to the Rev. Benj. Paul £25, which was distributed to the settlers; in 1835 I built a log house which served for a chapel and school house; I established in it a school and engaged Miss Paul as teacher; I then furnished all the children of the settlement with a new suit of clothes; in 1835 I established and sustained at considerable expense another school. In 1837, when flour and pork was at a high price in this country, and the settlers of the Colony suffering, I visited Ohio and expended £50 for pork, flour and corn, and distributed among the settlers. The small sums I have paid out in a thousand ways to advance the interest of the settlement, need scarcely be mentioned in this communication;—suffice it to say that a full statement will ere long be given in a pamphlet, together with some particulars respecting a considerable amount necessarily expended in litigation. Provincial editors are solicited to copy this letter.

ISRAEL LEWIS,
Colored Man,
And founder of the Wilberforce Colony.

Tales of Oppression.

No. XXIV.

BY ISAAC T. HOPPER.

Pegg, a colored woman, was originally a slave to Abraham Vandegriff, of Bucks County, in Pennsylvania, who, by his will, left her to John Harrison, of Point-no-Point, with directions that he should manumit her at the age of twenty years. He left John Harrison his executor, who bound Pegg to Christian Hess, of the city of Philadelphia, for the term of ten years. After he had remained some years in his service, he sold her to James Collins; he sold her to John Bishop, who took her to Virginia and sold her to David Welton, of Hardy County; he sold her to George Reynolds, of Berkley County, who sold her to Casper Rinker, of Frederick County, by whom she was held as a slave. After remaining some time with him, he made an attempt to transport her to the south for sale, for which purpose he took her to Winchester; but Pegg becoming apprized of his intentions, refused to go, and as he was taking her through that town, about 9 o'clock at night, she laid hold of a post in the street, and cried murder as loud as she could. Fortunately for Pegg, this happened to be opposite the door of a respectable lawyer, by the name of Joseph Sexton, who, upon hearing the cry of murder, immediately went to the door to investigate the cause. Pegg stated her case and implored his assistance; at which Rinker became greatly enraged, and urged his right to take her where he pleased; alleging that she was his slave. But Pegg was so clear and circumstantial in her narrative, that Sexton had the woman committed to prison until the case could be enquired into. The next morning he sent for Jonathan Wright, who resided a short distance from town, and who was known to be a prominent and active friend of the colored people. Upon going to Winchester, he, accompanied by Joseph Sexton, called at the prison and conversed with Pegg, who soon satisfied them that she was a free woman. Jonathan Wright was a minister in the Society of Friends, and had been to Philadelphia not long before this event, on a religious visit, and had become acquainted with many friends in that city. He addressed a letter to James Pemberton, detailing Pegg's history, as he received it from her own mouth. This letter was dated in the 11th month, 1798, and was handed to Thomas Harrison, Secretary to the Acting Committee of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, &c.; who undertook to defend Pegg in her just claim to freedom. Christian Hess, her former master, had removed to the city of Burlington, New Jersey, and two of the committee were appointed to wait upon him—he exhibited her indenture, which had been duly executed before Lewis Wiess, Esq., a magistrate of Philadelphia, dated 12th of January, 1789, binding her to Hess for the term of ten years; but it did not appear that a manumission had been executed by John Harrison, agreeably to the will of Abraham Vandegriff; whereupon application was made to Harrison, and he accordingly executed a manumission dated 12th month 3d, 1798; and Frederic Beatez, a well known scriviner, and Thomas Harrison, both of the city of Philadelphia, subscribed their names to it as witnesses.

A particular and circumstantial narrative of Pegg's history was forwarded to Jonathan Wright, accompanied with a copy of the original indenture and of the manumission, duly authenticated. The narrative so exactly corroborated the statement previously made by Pegg, that no further difficulty was anticipated; but in this reasonable expectation the friends of Pegg were greatly disappointed; for by a letter from Jonathan Wright, dated 1st month, 16th, 1799, it appeared that Rinker, the claimant, was determined to dispute every inch of ground, and would admit nothing, no matter how clear, unless it was authenticated in legal form. J. Wright's letter informed the committee that it would be necessary to send two persons to Virginia to identify Pegg. Christian Hess was engaged to go to Winchester for that purpose, his expenses being paid; and after much delay, he was induced to go. Upon his return in the 9th month, 1800, he brought letters from Jonathan Wright and Goldsmith Chandler, which mentioned that Hess had testified so clearly to the freedom of Pegg, that no doubt was left in the minds of the judges; in consequence of which a suit was instituted for her freedom.

It was agreed that a commission should issue to take testimony in the case, in Philadelphia, and a letter was received requesting that the names of suitable persons for commissioners should be forwarded to Winchester. This request was complied with, but the court declined to accept them, observing, "perhaps they are Quakers." The commission was therefore issued, directed to any two aldermen of the city of Philadelphia. John Inskeep, Mayor, who was also an alderman, and Robert Wharton, an alderman, were called upon to act in the case, and they readily agreed to serve.

John Harrison, who was executor to the estate of Abraham Vandegriff, and also residuary legatee, testified that he bound Pegg to Christian Hess, and Hess testified that Pegg, whom he saw at Winchester, and whom Casper Rinker claimed as a slave, was the same person who was bound to him by John Harrison. Thomas Harrison and Frederic Beatez proved the execution of the deed of manumission. A copy of Vandegriff's will had been forwarded to Winchester, accompanied by a certificate of the Register of Bucks County; but a letter was received from Joseph Sexton dated 2d month 10th, 1802, informing that the certificate was informal, and that it would not be safe to go to trial until it was corrected. The committee addressed a letter ts Robert Frazier, an attorney of Bucks County, who procured a certificate in due form—this certificate, with an official copy of Vandegriff's will, was forwarded to the Governor at Lancaster, and in a few days they were returned with his certificate, to which the state seal was affixed, certifying that James Hanna was register general for the Probate of Wills for Bucks County. Considerable delay occurred in executing the commission. When it was completed, except the signature of the commissioners, we discovered that in order to reach Winchester in season, it was necessary that the documents should be in the post office the next morning by seven o'clock, and it was eleven o'clock at night before we could procure the signature of Robert Wharton. Much anxiety was felt lest we should not procure the signature of John Inskeep in season. I retired to bed about 12 o'clock, but I could not compose myself to sleep; about 3 o'clock in the morning I rose and went to Thomas Harrison's. I met him at his door upon the point of going to my house, for me to accompany him to John Inskeep's, who was then at his country seat about three miles from the city. We arrived there a little before sunrise, and met a young woman just going out of the door, and requested her to inform the Mayor that we were there and wished to speak with him as soon as possible. In a very few minutes he made his appearance and affixed his signature to the documents which we had procured to be prepared. We had gone there on foot, but he would not permit us to return in the same way. He ordered a horse to be saddled and bridled, and I, without loss of time, mounted and made the best of my way to the city. I placed the papers in the post office, and they arrived et Winchester in season; but one hour later would have been fatal to Pegg's cause. T. Harrison staid and took breakfast with the Mayor, and went to the city with him in his carriage.

A letter was received from Goldsmith Chandler, dated 3d month 12th, informing that the documents sent by the committee so fully established the freedom of Pegg that the jury were but a few minutes in deciding in her favor; and she was accordingly decreed free, and set at liberty. Pegg, during the pendency of the suit, had been hired as a servant, and upon the case being decided she received her wages. Thus a case that was perfectly clear from the first, occupied the attention of the committee for a space of nearly four years, at the expense of considerable time and money; every possible obstacle was thrown in the way of her obtaining her just claim to freedom, and if the committee had not been as determined and persevering as her claimant, in all probability she would have remained all her life a slave.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1841.

Mr. Giddings' Speech. North and South.

Mr. Giddings has given us the root of the matter of the Florida war. And he is the only one (except Mr. Everett of Vermont) out of our hundred and fifty northern representatives, who, during a period of five years, and the process of worse than wasting forty millions of the national treasure, has attempted to do so. Without being possessed of all the authentic details, which Mr. Giddings has presented, I have always believed that the *origin* of that war, was even more disreputable to us than the *conduct* of it; that the bloodhounds, and the kidnapping of the great chief under a flag of truce, were respectable in comparison with it. Mr. Giddings leaves no doubt on this subject.

But will the North awake from its lethargy? Will it with an empty treasury to be replenished, mainly from northern pockets, and with paper promises issued to pay current expenses, and to be redeemed from the same source,—will it sleep on and permit the same partial and profligate policy? Will it suffer this and like scandals of the religion, justice, and honor of this nation to continue? I think they will, until they resolve upon the extermination of slavery, or a dissolution of partnership in the crime. There can be no remedy for the national impoverishment and disgrace, which pursue us so long as we strike hands with robbers. The moral effect of our great revolution has become blunted abroad; its principles "a string of abstractions" at home; our commercial credit deeply wounded; our republicanism and our piety laughing stocks to the world.

When the federal constitution was formed, it was intended that *three-fifths* as much taxes should be paid by a southern master for each slave, as is paid by a northern freeman; on the avowed ground that a slave was in pecuniary value but three-fifths of a man; a very near approximation to Homer's old standard, which was half a man. This was the result of the grave investigation of a Committee of the old Continental Congress. Instead of feeling compunction for having thus marred a million of human beings, the authors of the ruin had the effrontery to come forward and demand compensation for their wicked work, in coin and political power. Their claim was allowed.

But the *practice* has far surpassed the *theory* of injustice. National taxes, instead of being levied directly on property and persons, have been levied on consumption; and the slaveholders with their unceasing circumvention which has been as successful with white, as their violence with black slaves, have so adjusted the tariff as to exempt themselves substantially from all taxation on account of their slaves; so that in fact the revenue is chiefly raised upon the free labor of the north, to be expended in Florida wars, and in purchasing new territories, over which they may spread the curse of slave labor in the South. We may truly say of the North, what has been wittily said of hypocrites in general, that they are people, "who serve the devil without hope of reward."—D. L. C.

The West Indies.

On Thursday evening last, John Candler and Joseph Sturge, addressed a full meeting of the Society of Friends, in Orchard street, on the subject of slavery. John Candler confined himself to an account of his visit to the West Indies in 1839; the object of which was, to ascertain the best means of appropriating funds, which the Society of Friends in England had contributed for the education of the emancipated negroes. The speaker was of a gentle and candid spirit; obviously as fearful of doing injustice to the planters, as he was to the laborers. He made all possible allowances for difficulties arising out of the transition from slavery to freedom, and for prejudices strongly interwoven in the human heart by education and habit. He admitted that the negroes still retained, to a considerable degree, a fault inevitably growing out of slavery, viz. lying. He therefore did not trust their statements any more than he did those of the planters. He saw, observed, and investigated for himself. His account corroborated all we have heard. In the cities there had been no increase of crime; and throughout the country a very remarkable diminution of it. He visited one prison which in the days of slavery always contained as many as eighty or a hundred convicts; it then contained but five, and three of them were white men. Another prison had been thrown open three times during the year, because there was none to occupy it. The desire for education and religious teaching was unbounded. On a slight intimation that a new chapel was to be erected, five hundred volunteers might be seen at early dawn, coming up from the valleys, and over the hills, with axes and crowbars to assist in the good work. One hundred thousand dollars had been contributed in one year, in the city of Kingston, for schools and chapels, entirely from the wages of the emancipated. The missionaries were mentioned with great respect, as self-sacrificing men, willing to perform very arduous duty for a compensation barely sufficient for the most moderate wants. The schools were in a flourishing condition, and so far from any inferiority in the colored children, they bore away the largest number of prizes.

All the difficulties had been occasioned by the oppression of some of the planters, seeking to extort labor for contemptibly insufficient wages. They trusted that long-continued habits of submission, and the strong local attachments, which characterize negroes, would prevent their leaving the plantations; but they refused to work on these terms, and were sustained in this position by their friends, the missionaries. These attempts at coercion had led the emancipated to make extraordinary efforts to possess lands of their own, and villages of them had grown up so rapidly, that it was doubtful whether they would not, even now, send a majority of members to the colonial legislature.—The planters, fearful of this, caused the law to be amended, so that no freeholder had a right to vote unless he paid a certain amount of tax; this amendment had the effect to exclude nearly all the emancipated. Friend Candler thought from his own observation, that they would be much more likely than the planters to choose men who would govern impartially.

The late slaveholders could not generally overcome their prejudices sufficiently to invite colored citizens to their houses; but the Governor included them in all public entertainments, and the white gentlemen who could not receive them as equals, had the privilege of staying away from the Governor's table. Not a few amusing scenes took place when citizens of the United States were tried in the Jamaica courts, before dignified and intelligent black judges.

Nothing impressed me so much in this Friend's communications, as the sacredness which the negroes attached to the idea of freedom. Often, when he asked a man what he thought of freedom, he uncovered his head, and looking reverently upward, exclaimed, "Oh, massa, this gift of God too good—too good;" and sometimes, when the women were asked the same question, they dropped on their knees and answered, "Dear missus, freedom too sweet—bless God and the good English people."

The communication of Joseph Sturge was less interesting; being a historical sketch of prominent points in the rise and progress of anti-slavery in England, and therefore familiar to most who have taken any interest in the subject. He began with Granville Sharpe and Clarkson, and ended with the recent exertions of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He repeated what has been often mentioned, that every foreign power addressed by them had given at least a courteous answer, except the southern States of America. In Spain, bad as was the state of things, there was good reason to believe that a society would soon be formed, and an anti-slavery periodical established. In Brazil, free labor was already beginning to be preferred in all the government works, and a translation of Gurney's book on the British West Indies, was circulated, without let or hindrance.

Anti-Slavery Education.

Among the many agencies set at work to abolish oppression in every form, none is so certain and so powerful, as the right training of coming generations. On this subject, Mr. Peyton, member of Congress from Tennessee, made a shrewd and philosophic remark. "When I saw female anti-slavery societies forming," said he, "I knew that juvenile associations would soon follow; and I like these less than any other feature of the times. It is comparatively of little consequence what old men think; but boys, who have seventy years to live and do mischief in, are to be dreaded. I never hear of a juvenile anti-slavery society, without thinking of the infant Hannibal swearing eternal enmity to Rome."

But there are unobserved influences all the time at work on the minds of children, far more potent than societies, schools, or precepts. Every word and action, not only of the parents, but of those with whom they habitually associate, is helping to form the young soul for good or evil.—An acquaintance of mine told me she was half tempted to believe in an instinctive antipathy to color; for though she had carefully concealed her own prejudice, her little daughter never saw the picture of a colored person, without exclaiming, "There's an old nigger!"

As I did not believe the phrase was an intuitive inspiration of any mind, I quietly waited for the riddle to be solved; not forgetting, meanwhile, how easy it was for a mother to *think* she concealed prejudices, easily discerned by the quick perceptions of childhood. In the course of the day, the little girl began to tell me a story of the housekeeper, to whom she was warmly attached. A young domestic in the family had committed some great misdemeanor, which she refused to acknowledge; the housekeeper said, "If you don't confess directly, I will send for a constable, and you shall be shut up in jail, with the nasty old niggers." No further explanation was needed.—Here was one probably of a thousand unnoticed rills daily flowing together to form the overflowing stream of future prejudice. And the threats of violence, so vainly resorted to, to promote sincerity and repentance, what were *they* doing for the innocent young soul that listened to them?—Horror of slavery, and compassion for the much-injured race degraded thereby, is but a unit in the sum of universal love. I never hear an Irishman called Paddy, a colored person called nigger, or the contemptuous epithet "old beggar man," without a pang at my heart; for I know that such epithets, inadvertently used, are doing more to form the moral sentiments of the nation, than all the teachings of the schools. The following beautiful lines by Willis, express to my mind what should be the result of a perfect Christian education:

> "For every creature hath won thy love,
> From the creeping worm to the brooding dove;
> And never a sad, low-spoken word
> Did plead with thy human heart unheard."

God is continually teaching us the great doctrine of Universal Love. The sun shineth on the evil and on the good, and the rain falleth on the just and the unjust. Light seeks to extend itself for the benefit of all; and heat is constantly giving itself out, striving to produce an equilibrium of warmth on all the objects within its influence. The spirit of a little child is all love. It makes no distinctions of rank or color. The infant spreads its arms as readily toward the black nurse, as the white one; and plays as joyously with the beggar's child, as with the offspring of a duchess. Of this spirit there seldom appears on earth a lovelier example than was the son of Gerrit Smith, early called home to his Heavenly Father. This boy, accustomed to the conveniences of wealth, and the kindly atmosphere of discreet indulgence, one day saw from the window several Indian children, extremely ragged and dirty. He immediately ran out to greet them with a child-like welcome; but soon returned into the house for a store of bread and butter, which he divided among them, watching with eager satisfaction the pleasure they took in this wholesome food. He seated himself beside them, put his arms about their necks, and finally hugged and kissed them. His Christian mother observed all this, and could not forget that the little wayfarers were extremely filthy; but she wisely reflected that the soiling of her child's garments, or even the danger of physical contagion, was a very slight evil, compared with the injury that would be done his soul by checking the overflowing of benevolence. When he came into the house, she smiled upon him, and said, "Fitzhugh, why did you hug and kiss those little Indian children so much?" The boy looked up with an earnest expression of kindness, and replied, "Oh, mother, they looked *so* poor." Here was a spirit to regenerate the world!

All are familiar with the anecdote of John Woolman's childhood, which that kind-hearted man relates with such beautiful simplicity. The boy who suffered such deep distress for having idly thrown a stone at a poor robin feeding her young, was at that moment preparing his soul for future works of philanthropy; and we are not surprised to find him, through his whole after life, evincing the most reverend tenderness for every thing God has made; and of course avoiding all participation in slavery or war. He tells us truly, that "He whose tender mercies are over all his works, hath placed a principle in the human mind, which incites to exercise goodness toward every living creature; and this being singly attended to, people become tender-hearted and sympathizing; but being frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes shut up in a contrary disposition."

Shall the voice of God, speaking directly to the soul, through the precepts of his Son, Jesus Christ, through the rich benevolence of Nature, and the blessed ministry of little children, for ever plead with us in vain? Shall we go on, even to the end, daily teaching the young immortal spirit maxims of our own pride and selfishness, instead of learning from it lessons of innocence and love?

Were not faith strong, and hope a perpetual inheritance, the answer might well seem doubtful. Every where around us, the law of violence is written in painfully distinct characters. Books for the nursery are filled with pictures of old women thumping boys, or of boys beating dogs. If a kitten scratches a little girl, she is told to imitate the blind resentment of the animal, by whipping puss in return. Or perhaps some mother, too enlightened to give such instruction, checks retaliation, by saying, "Little *girls* ought to be gentle;" thereby teaching her sons, with an indirect influence, stronger than formal precepts, that gentleness is exclusively a feminine virtue, and that the gospel was preached for women only. The boys, meanwhile, strut round with tin swords and noisy drums; they amuse themselves by throwing stones at happy little birds, chasing the kitten, and worrying the dog; and as a peculiar privilege, they are allowed to carry and use the whip, whenever they ride with their parents. All this preparation for future tyranny and war is observed with the careless commentary that "boys will be boys." True, there is no direct intention to perpetuate and extend the spirit of violence. The widespreading mischief is done thoughtlessly; for the law of love, though it has stood recorded on the pages of the gospel for eighteen hundred years, though an inward voice has always pleaded with the innocent heart in its favor, is still dimly perceived and partially recognized. Therefore we go on educating our children as if they were mere animals, without any moral sense to connect them with God and angels.

Three Cheers for the Empire State!!!

New-York has repealed her odious nine-months' law; and now every slave brought within her jurisdiction, with knowledge and consent of his master, is free the moment he touches her soil! Passed, ayes 57, nays 49. It was a subject of regret that this cheering information came a few hours too late to be inserted in our last paper. The New-York American thus announces it:

"The bill which wipes from our statute books the last vestige of slavery, has become a law."

This is not strictly true. New-York has indeed cleared her skirts of *slavery*, (as far as any of the nominally free States *can* do it, while the Constitution of the United States remains unrevised,) but a *vestige* of the hateful system still blots her own Constitution, in the clause which denies the elective franchise to her colored citizens on the same terms as her white citizens.

Keep at work, friends of freedom! Blow the ram's horn louder round the walls of Jericho! Don't you see the walls are tottering?

The Emancipator.

Had the editor of that paper intended to wound my feelings, (which I presume he did not,) he could not have done it more effectually than by making my praises the vehicle of a dagger-thrust at a much-loved and much-respected friend. If there be one man who, more than another in our anti-slavery ranks, makes me feel my own unworthiness, in comparison with his entire self-renunciation, his unflinching adherence to truth, his disinterested exertions, his humble trust in God, that man is Nathaniel P. Rogers. True, our minds are cast in different moulds; so that even the principles in which we most cordially agree are approached from different points of view; but this is the mere accident of temperament and education. The tears are in my eyes, that he who has so ungrudgingly laid talent, reputation, and health upon the altar of human freedom, should thus be brought into disadvantageous comparison with one who stood aside sheltered from the storm of controversy, while he, with ready heroism, braved its fury.

The Emancipator speaks of "disgust" excited in my mind by the former editor of the Standard. He is mistaken. That is excited by treacherous connivance, false pretences, and evasive sophistry; not by honest warmth of zeal, and the child-like openness of heart, which frankly utters its first thought.

When the storm of persecution was raging against the early Friends, it is related of Thomas Ellwood that he once came out of meeting among a crowd of assailants, with a fur cap on. "Don't stone that man," said the mob, "he is not a Quaker. See his fur cap!" The indignant Friend flung his cap on the ground, exclaiming, "I *am* a Quaker!"

It was a brave example. I too would avoid all protecting influence, however kindly meant, which seems to separate me from those tried and true friends of universal freedom, William Lloyd Garrison and Nathaniel P. Rogers.—L. M. C.

Short Discourse between Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery.

Pro-Slavery. I object to the harsh language of abolitionists. A gentleman is not likely to be convinced that slavery is a bad system by being called a man-stealer.

Anti-Slavery. But he *is* likely to be convinced, I suppose, by telling him that it is no fault of his; that his ancestors entailed it upon him, and he cannot help himself; that his slaves are undoubtedly very happy, and extremely fortunate to have fallen into such humane hands as *American* slave-holders. *That* mode of rousing the conscience has been tried for more than half a century; with what success, our ferocious laws, and our crowded slave prisons, with their bloody walls, can best testify. From the banks, of the Ohio to distant St. Croix, from England, France, and the whole civilized world, let them hear but one sound, and may it speak in thunder tones, "Quit stealing!"

Pro-Slavery. I cannot agree with you. I approve of the old maxim, that "honey catches more flies than vinegar."

Anti-Slavery. The maxim is very true; and we leave it to those whose business it is to catch flies—the colonizationists, for instance. *Our* mission is to convince men of sin, and preach immediate repentance. If a man should seize your wife and sell her, or keep her to himself, as best suited his convenience; if he compelled you, year after year, to unrequited toil; if you saw your children bleeding under his lash, and knew that the law allowed him to kill them, provided it was done by "moderate correction;" how much honey should you think necessary to catch *that* fly?

A LESSON FOR CHRISTIANS.—George Trueman and John Jackson, members of the Society of Friends, during their late visit to the West India Islands, met with a colony of Mahometan negroes, several hundreds in number. One of them had been a prince in his own country; and having, in common with all Mahometans, been educated to consider it pollution even to eat with a Christian, he considered it a peculiar degradation for one of the faithful to become the slave of a heretic. Stimulated by this feeling, he made great exertions, and obtained his freedom. His next effort was to purchase some Mahometan brethren; they united to help him buy others; and thus this colony was formed, keeping up the religious customs of the East, in the heart of the West Indies. In conversation with George Trueman, they admitted that Jesus Christ was a prophet, and delivered a message very important to the world at that time; but they said Mahomet came later, to bring a higher revelation. In proof of this, they said, "Christians fight with each other, which Mahometans never do. Christians make slaves of each other, but this we never do, because it is forbidden by our prophet. Christians get drunk; but this is an abomination to Mahometans."

One of the sailors on board the Arabian ship, which excited so much curiosity in New-York, was severely whipped for getting drunk. "What," said they, "Are you going to turn Christian?"

☞ We have received a letter from P. D. Hathaway, in answer to the charges of W. O. Duvall, who accuses him of having used language "wholly false." He thinks that "justice to Duvall, and respect for himself," demand a reply. If we thought so too, we would gladly insert it, much as we dislike personal controversy. But we are convinced that whoever knows our valued and trustworthy agent, P. D. H., will need no arguments to convince them that he has never intentionally violated truth. Moreover, W. O. Duvall's admissions seem to furnish sufficient data for an intelligent mind to form a candid judgment.

The Emancipator of May 20th, in noticing the anniversary of the American and *Foreign* A. S. Society, speaks of it as the *American* A. S. Society; and the Friend of Man, and several new organization papers do the same thing. Is this accidental? It is important that the lines of demarcation between us be distinct and strong. In the case mentioned, the names of J. G. Birney, J. Leavitt, &c., follow as officers of the Society; a circumstance well calculated to give distant friends the impression that the American A. S. Society is identified with the third political party. A *ruse* of this kind has often been resorted to by politicians, but we trust never by abolitionists.

In the Emancipator of March 25, we notice receipts for the Am. A. S. Society, collected by J. Cross, Ill. $118 38. Why was the *name* of the Am. Society used, while the *funds* were appropriated to new organization? If these things are accidental, honesty and candor require that care should be taken to avoid similar mistakes in future.

NOTICES.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair.

The Anti-Slavery women of Boston would again by their Committee, call the attention of their friends in Massachusetts, and throughout the country, to the increased prospect of aiding the cause, by means of the '*Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair,*' already notified to be held at Boston during Christmas week, 1841. The receipts of the sale of last year, far exceeding those of any previous year, afford ample testimony to the faithfulness with which the women of Massachusetts have discharged, amid much 'evil report,' the responsibilities they have assumed, and encourage us *again* to summon them to unite with us for a still more strenuous effort in the slave's behalf.

We ask anti-slavery societies to take early action with respect to the Fair, and communicate their determination to us. In towns where no society exists, or where having a name to live they are dead, let individuals, who remain true to the cause, unite their efforts in this behalf. Permit us to say here, to any who, in view of our protracted struggle and unanticipated perplexities, may be preparing to abandon the cause—'The numbers of the enslaved, their sufferings and despair, the crime and danger of the slaveholder, the guilt of his northern confederate, are no less than when they first awoke your conscience, and enlisted your sympathy. Remember the declaration of our Savior, 'No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.'

In many places, one laborer bears alone the heat and burden of the day. To such we would say, be resolute and self-sustained. You do but seem to be alone. Within your call are true and faithful hearts.

——'hearts glowing with a flame,
Kindled like yours for purposes the same,
To cheer the watch, to daunt a common foe.'

Help shall arise by your side soon, and at the eleventh hour the ranks will be full.

We entreat our friends to encourage us by their presence at the time of the sale as well as by their donations. Arrangements will be made for the accommodation of all who come up to our help, and no endeavors omitted to make the occasion one of enjoyment and festivity, as well as of toil and responsibility.

So well is the Fair now understood, that a particular description of articles that might be profitably provided is unnecessary. Information will be furnished upon application to any member of our Committee.

We shall address to you, from time to time, during the year, such information respecting our plans and arrangements, as may facilitate yours. Meanwhile, asking earnestly for your correspondence, co-operation and advice, we are affectionately your friends and co-laborers for the slave,

MARIA W. CHAPMAN,
MARY A. W. JOHNSON,
THANKFUL SOUTHWICK,
LOUISA LORING,
ELIZA F. MERIAM,
ANN T. G. PHILLIPS,
MARY YOUNG,
CAROLINE WESTON,
ABBY SOUTHWICK,
LAVINIA HILTON,
MARY F. ROGERS,
EMILY A. WINSLOW,
HANNAH TUFTS,
CATHARINE SARGENT,
LYDIA MARIA CHILD,
MARY G. CHAPMAN,
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
SUSAN PAUL,
ELIZA PHILBRICK,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,
HELEN E. GARRISON,
LOUISA SEWALL,
CECILIA HOWARD,
CAROLINE F. WILLIAMS,
HANNAH S. ADAMS,
MARY WILLEY,

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

The Springfield Gazette says, that four hundred of the Irish laborers on the railroad in the town of Chester, Middlefield, and vicinity, have pledged themselves against the use of intoxicating liquors. The most happy results are already seen.

The difference in the duty on colonial and American flour in Great Britain, operates as a controlling bounty on Canadian commerce, and diverts a large portion of our western staple from our own seaports, to the serious injury of both our inland and oceanic carrying trade. There is no duty on American wheat when carried into the British provinces; and millions of bushels are sent there, not for consumption, but to be exported in flour as the produce of the soil.—*Buffalo Com. Adv.*

This spring, the telescope has shown five distinct clusters of dark spots, supposed to extend upward of 50,000 miles across the sun's disc. In the remarkably cold and wet summer of 1816 similar spots were so large as to be visible to the naked eye.

A Western Editor offers $1000 to any one who will furnish satisfactory evidence that any female subscriber to a newspaper has ever neglected to pay up her subscription regularly.

The Legislature of New-York have passed an act allowing a bounty of 15 cents per pound for all cocoons produced in the state, and 50 cents per pound for the reeled silk. The act is to continue in operation until June 1, 1846.

Cotton Interest.—A southern paper says, that Col. Todd has been appointed minister to the court of Vienna, to represent the cotton interest. It was a question at first, whether to send a representative of the cotton or tobacco interest, but the cotton-ocracy prevailed. We had supposed our ministers abroad were appointed to represent the nation, and not a sectional interest, but it seems we have been mistaken. The free states are very meek under these impudent assumptions of the slaveholders; and yet they too have a few interests of some importance.—*Philanthropist.*

The Accounts from Florida show that the Indians are again at their work of death. Two men were murdered on the 12th, at or near Trader's Hill, and the report was that others had met a like fate. The impression seems to be that the Treaty is at an end, and that the fighting will soon recommence.—*N. Y. American.*

Gen. Armistead has obtained leave to retire from the chief command in Florida, and is succeeded by Col. Worth.

Commodore Alexander Claxton, commander of the American Squadron in the Pacific, died at Talcahuano on the 7th of March, and his remains were conveyed in the frigate Constitution to Valparaiso, where she arrived on the 11th.

Mr. M'Culloch in his new dictionary sets down the total value of the cotton and yarn annually produced in Great Britain at £34,000,000 or $152,000,000.

Federick County Bank, at Frederick, Md. has been robbed of upwards of one hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars, in specie, notes, and other valuables. A reward of ten thousand dollars is offered for the recovery of the money and the detection of the robber.

Mr. Simon Richard, of Donaldson, La. was lately wounded so severely that there is no hope of his recovery, by a negro whom he was attempting to arrest.

A party of Chippewas, who are hostile towards the Sioux; recently came near an emcampment of the Sioux, not far from Fort Snelling, and fired into one of the lodges, killing a chief and his son. The Chippewas retreated, and had, by our last accounts, evaded the pursuit of the Sioux. The Chippewas made another attempt, by firing into a Sioux encampment below, without doing any damage. There will probably be warm work between these two warlike tribes before the summer is out.

The Nashville Banner states that John L. Moore, a merchant doing business at Readyville, Tenn., who was under arrest for having committed the late frauds on the Bank of Tennessee, committed suicide on the 7th instant in a public house in Murfreesborough, by hanging himself to a bed-post.

Serious Accident.—We learn from the Belfast (Maine) Signal that Mr. Obadiah Brown lately had his hand entirely severed from the arm and carried some distance from him by a circular saw, whilst engaged in a shingle and stave mill in Camden. Dr. J. H. Estabrook was immediately called, and found amputation above the wound necessary. This is the second accident of the kind which has happened in that place within a few weeks, and should serve as a caution to all who may be engaged in similar mills.

Captain John Staples put an end to his life on the 17th inst. at Springfield, Ohio. He had just completed arrangements for a separation from his wife, the cause of which has not been published. In the evening he changed his suit, put on a new hat, and tied crape around it, and put black gloves on his hands, and repairing to the hotel in which she lodged, stretched himself at the foot of the door of her chamber, and in the morning was found there lying dead, having put an end to his existence by taking a dose of laudanum.

The *New York Journal of Commerce* says: Agreeably to the order of the Supreme Court, ALEXANDER McLEOD was this morning transferred from the custody of the Sheriff of Niagara county to that of Sheriff Hart of this city. Until the decision of the Supreme Court, McLEOD will be confined in the House of Detention in Centre street, (where he is at present,) though doubtless he will be permitted to enjoy all reasonable indulgences. This decision, it is supposed, will not be made until the July term. The question to be decided is, whether he shall be discharged without trial. If the Court decide yea, *that*, of course, will be the end of the business, so far as the Courts are concerned; if nay, then his counsel will take an appeal to the Court of Errors (the State Senate,) and ultimately, if necessary, to the Supreme Court of the United States.

McLeod has sent a statement of the affair with the Caroline to the N. Y. Scottish Journal: in which he says, "I never said I was at the destruction of the boat, or any thing of the sort; nor does any witness against me say that he ever said that I said such a thing, till after they heard I was arrested."

The New York National Theatre was burnt on Saturday last, having been set on fire in eight different places the evening previous. The rear wall fell upon an adjoining building, and crushed a young woman, 19 years old, named Margaret Yager. She belonged to Philadelphia, and had been in this city but a few days. This theatre was built on the site of another, which was burned three or four years ago. The cost of the building was something like $50,000, and the scenery, dresses, &c. belonging to the manager, were very expensive.

Wendall Phillips.

A thousand times has this eloquent friend, now absent in Europe, been brought to mind by the following lines; they are extracted from a poem of Mrs. Sigourney's, in memory of the Rev. Mr. Cornelius.

I've seen thee in thy glory stand,
While all around were hushed,
And seraph wisdom from thy lips
In tones of music gushed.

For thou with willing hand didst lay,
At morning's dewy hour,
Down at the feet of Him who gave
Thy beauty and thy power.

Thou for the helpless sons of wo
Didst plead with words of flame,
And boldly struck the flinty heart
In thy Redeemer's name.

* * * * *

We *need* thy blended eloquence
Of lip, and eye, and brow;
We need the righteous as a shield—
Why art thou absent now?

"Slaves cannot breathe in England"—a proud boast!
And yet a mockery! if, from coast to coast,
Though fettered slave be none, her floors and soil
Groan underneath a weight of slavish toil,
For the poor many, measured out by rules
Fetched with cupidity from heartless schools,
That to an idol, falsely called "the wealth
Of nations," sacrifice a people's health,
Body and mind and soul; a thirst so keen
Is ever urging on the vast machine
Of sleepless labor, 'mid whose dizzy wheels
The power least prized is that which thinks and feels.
Wordsworth.

The Little English Factory Girl.

'Twas on a winter's morning,
The weather was wet and wild,
Three hours before the dawning,
The father roused his child;
Her daily morsel bringing,
The darksome room he paced,
And cried, 'The bell is ringing,
My hapless darling, haste!'

'Father, I'm up, but weary:
I scarce can reach the door;
And long the way and dreary—
Oh, carry me once more!
To help us we've no mother,
And you have no employ;
They killed my little brother—
Like him I'll work and die!'

Her wasted form seemed nothing,
The load was at his heart;
The sufferer he kept soothing,
Till at the mill they part.
The overlooker met her,
As to her frame she crept,
And with his thong he beat her,
And cursed her as she wept.

Alas! what hours of horror
Made up her latest day,
In toil, and pain, and sorrow,
They slowly passed away;
It seemed, as she grew weaker,
The threads they oftener broke,
The rapid wheels ran quicker,
And heavier fell the stroke.

The sun had long descended,
But night brought no repose,
Her day begun and ended
As cruel tyrants chose.
At length a little neighbor
Her half-penny she paid,
To take her last hour's labor,
While by her frame she laid.

At last, the engine ceasing,
The captives homeward rushed;
She thought her strength increasing—
'Twas hope her spirits flushed;
She left, but oft she tarried;
She fell, and rose no more,
Till by her comrades carried,
She reached her father's door.

At night, with tortured feeling,
He watched his speechless child,
While, close beside her kneeling,
She knew him not, nor smiled;
Again, the factory's ringing,
Her last perception tried;
When, from her straw bed springing,
'*'Tis time!*' she said—and died.

City Dinners.

No wonder the wise look on dinners like these
As so much sheer warfare with pain and disease.
Indeed, you may see by the gestures and grins
Which some dishes make, how they wait for one's sins;
The gape of a cod-fish, and round staring eye,
The claws that threat up from a fierce pigeon pie,
Don't they warn us, with signs at which heroes might shiver,
Of wounds in the midriff, and scars in the liver?
Even hares become bold in so desperate a case,
And with hollow defiance look full in one's face.
This made t'other day a physician declare
That disease, bona fide, was part of our fare.
For example, he held that a plate of green fruit
Was not only substance, but cholic to boot;
That veal, besides making an exquisite dish,
Was a fine indigestion, and so was salt fish;
That a tongue was most truly a thing to provoke,
Hasty-pudding slow poison, and trifle no joke.
Had you asked him, accordingly, what was the fare
When he dined t'other day with the vicar or mayor,
He'd have said, "Oh, of course everything of the best,
Gout, head-ache, and fever, and pain in the chest."
'Twas thus too at table, when helping the meat,
He'd have had you encourage the people to eat,—
As, "Pray, Sir, allow me,—a slice of this gout;
I could get no St. Anthony's fire—it's quite out.
Mr. P. there—more night-mare? my hand's quite at leisure.
A glass of slow fever? I'm sure with great pleasure.
My dear Mrs. H, why your plate's always empty!
Now can't a small piece of this agony tempt ye?"
And then leaning over, with spoon and with smile,
"Do let me, Miss Betsey,—a little more bile?
Have I no more persuasion with you too Miss Virtue?
A little, I'm sure, of this cough could'nt hurt you."
Leigh Hunt.

Through the vain webs which puzzle sophist's skill,
Plain sense and honest meaning work their way;
So sink the varying clouds upon the hill,
When the clear dawning brightens into day.
Dr. Watts.

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Athenæum.

The First and Last Kiss.

(Concluded.)

In such a scene did Edmund, the son of David Morgan, pass his youth; and had he lived in "monkish times," by such a scene would his warm imagination have been allured, and he himself have become a monk of holy Tintern. It was his supreme delight, while yet a boy, to wander the live-long day amid the wild and craggy steeps, the tangled thickets, the solitary glens, and the variously wooded slopes, of that magnificent amphitheatre, laid out by the hand of nature. It was no less his delight to linger round the ruins of the venerable abbey, as the shadows of evening descended upon them, or when the pale moon partially illuminated their grey walls, or streamed in trembling radiance through the ivy-wreathed windows. At such moments, his imagination would carry him back to the period when it was the abode of living piety; when the vesper hymn pealed along its echoing cloisters; and when all the pomp and solemnity of a religion which inflamed the mind by the seduction of the senses, reigned in sacred grandeur beneath its roof. Sometimes he would people the ruin with the creations of his heated fancy, summon from their graves the shadowy forms of holy men who had died there in ages past, and half believe he saw the visions of his brain embodied before his eyes.

In such a place as this, at such an hour,
If aught of ancestry may be believed,
Descending angels have conversed with men,
And told the secrets of the world unknown.

At the period now described, Edmund Morgan was in his thirteenth year. He was no common boy; and his grandfather, who had watched the dawnings of his character, moral and intellectual, prided himself upon his cultivation of both. Enthusiasm was its basis. In whatever he engaged, it was with the whole energy of his nature. It may be supposed, therefore, that he quickly mastered those branches of knowledge which were within the compass of Mr. Lloyd to teach, and who was also anxious that he should have the advantage of a more comprehensive education. But how was his benevolent desire to be accomplished? He was too poor to pay for it, and he was too friendless to obtain it from patronage. Accident, at length, if such events in the life of man may rightly be called accidents, shaped his destiny. Some trifling circumstance, so unheeded at the time, that no distinct recollection of it survived the occurrence, brought him into contact with an eccentric old gentleman of the neighborhood, who had signalized himself on more than one occasion by the apparent caprice with which he bestowed his bounty. The last act of the kind which had been talked of, was his stocking a small farm for an industrious young man, and giving him besides a hundred pounds to begin with, to whom he had never spoken till he called upon him to announce his intention. But he had observed him frequently, in his walks, laboring early and late, in a little garden which was attached to his cottage; and had learned, upon inquiry, that he kept an aged mother, and a sister who was a cripple, out of the workhouse, by his scanty earnings. It was Edmund's good fortune to attract the notice of Squire Jones, in the way described; and it was not long after that he paid a visit to Mr. Lloyd, for the express purpose of asking a few questions about him. The good old man spoke with pride and affection of his pupil and grandson, but with despondency of his future prospects. "I have reared him as my own," said he, "from his cradle, and I should close my eyes in peace, if I could know, or reasonably hope, so goodly a branch would not be left to float like a worthless weed upon the stream of time." "He shall be planted," replied Squire Jones. "Send for the boy. But never mind, just now. You know in what soil he will be most likely to thrive. I shall call again to-morrow. By that time, make your choice, and leave the rest to me." The morrow came—the choice was made—and Edmund was to study for the Church, at Oxford, (the great ambition of his youthful mind,) upon an ample allowance secured to him by Squire Jones, in such a way as nothing but his own misconduct could forfeit.

If Edmund was the pride of his grandfather, he was no less the idol of his mother, who would sometimes think that Heaved had bestowed such a treasure upon her, in compensation for what it had taken away. Perhaps her love for Edmund was somewhat heightened, by the circumstance that she had lost her first child when it was only four years old, and he had become, therefore, her only one; but, in truth, his own affectionate disposition, his ingenuousness of character, and his intellectual endowments, were of themselves, sufficient passports to all the love of a fond mother's heart. And Hester was a fond mother, though not a weak one. She looked forward, with dejected feelings, to the now approaching moment of her first separation from her dear boy; but she was too gratefully conscious of the benefit he was to derive from that separation, to repine at it.

There had always been one subject, which, whenever it occupied the thoughts of Hester, was most painful and distressing to her. It was the mystery of Edmund's birth. She could not tell him his father was a convict, and she had no reason to believe any one else had done so. She could not even tell him that he lived; for from the moment of his leaving Monmouth prison, down to that of which we are now speaking, no tidings of him had reached her.—Neither he nor old Morgan had written a single line to any relative or friend they had left behind. All she ever learned concerning him, was, that he had arrived safely at New South Wales. Edmund, when a child, would often talk of his father, merely because the word was constantly upon the lips of his playmates, and because he saw they had fathers. But as he grew older, and began to reflect, a thousand little circumstances presented themselves to his mind, which convinced him there was some mystery, though he knew not what, that hung over his infancy.—Once, and only once, he asked his mother, "Who is my father? and where is he?" But the silent agitation of Hester, for she could not answer him, sealed his lips upon that subject ever afterwards.

Edmund was in his sixteenth year when he went to the University, and he remained there, with the usual visits at home during the vacations, till he was one-and-twenty. The progress he made in his studies, and the character he bore for strict propriety of conduct, well justified the munificent liberality of his patron. But he was denied one gratification, that of gladdening his grandfather's pride in him, by the display of his scholastic attainments. The good old man, full of years and ripe in virtue, had breathed his last, from the gradual decay of nature, rather than from the inroads of disease, not long after he had seen the wish nearest his heart realized. Edmund was with him when he died, and he followed him to the grave with feelings which emphatically told him how he could have loved and how mourned—a father! By the interest of his benefactor, (who, the more he saw, and the more he knew of Edmund, found what had originally borne the stamp of a benevolent whim merely, gradually assuming the better quality of a permanent desire to befriend him,) the curacy of Tintern was reserved for his benefit, when he should be duly qualified, by ordination, to assume its pastoral functions. Meanwhile, the place of Mr. Lloyd was supplied by a neighboring clergyman, to whom the fatigues of double duty were sweetened by something beyond the allotted stipend, out of the purse of Squire Jones.

The Rev. Edmund Morgan was in his three-and twentieth year, when, at the curate of Tintern, he took possession of the little parsonage house in which his youth had been passed, and which was endeared to him by the recollection of almost every incident in his yet spring-tide of life, that could shed a charm upon the retrospect. He brought to his sacred office a larger stock of theological erudition, and a mind naturally of a higher order, than had belonged to his grandfather; but in the purity of his life, in the holiness of his zeal, and in his exemplary discharge of the numerous duties that belong to a faithful minister of the gospel, he had an example ever present to his memory, which it was his constant prayer he might be able to follow.—One only circumstance troubled the calm and peaceful flow of the serene current of his life. A heavy grief—some untold sorrow—lay like a canker at his mother's heart; its ravages were undermining her health, and contracting, with fearful rapidity, the already too little space which stretched between her and the grave. Her wan features, her secret tears, whose traces were frequently visible in her swollen eyes when she appeared at the breakfast table, and those unbidden sighs that would burst from her at times, as if her heart were full to breaking, caused Edmund many a sleepless night, and many a waking hour of melancholy thoughts. There had ever been so much of unreserved communication between himself and his mother, upon all things save this one, that he felt he had here no right to intrude upon the sanctuary of her grief, because he concluded she must have sufficient reasons for drawing around it so impenetrable a veil.—When, however, he perceived what inroads it was making upon a life so dear to him, he could no longer be restrained by these delicate considerations. A higher duty than even the respect inspired by filial obligations—the sacred duty of his calling, which enjoined him to breathe the word of comfort over the wounded and mourning spirit, made him resolve to seek an opportunity of tenderly imploring from his mother a disclosure of the affliction that preyed thus fatally upon her peace of mind. But ere he found an opportunity, events forced themselves a passage to his ear.

His mother entered his room one morning, in extreme agitation. "You have heard," said she, with a faltering voice, "of the dreadful business that took place last week; the murder, for so it is considered, of one of the Duke of Beaufort's game-keepers, in a scuffle between him and the poacher, Isaac Price."

"I have," replied Edmund, "and the wretched man will surely be hung, if he is taken."

"He is taken," answered Mrs. Morgan, "and lodged in Monmouth jail."

"It is the law of God and man," said Edmund, "that whoso sheddeth the blood of another, his own blood shall be the atonement.—This Isaac Price, moreover, is spoken of as a culprit inured to many crimes; one who has walked in the paths of vice all his life. But why this excessive agitation, my dear mother? What is it that troubles you so grievously, and that has so long troubled you?"

"You shall know, Edmund; for it is better you should hear it from my lips than from those of others, and concealment is now no longer possible. Isaac Price is your father."

"My father!" exclaimed Edmund; and he spoke not another word. His mother wept bitterly. For several minutes they sate in silence; the thoughts of Mrs. Morgan travelling through a miserable past, and those of her son absorbed in the conflict of present amazement and future suffering. He had found a father, but the first impulse of his feelings was to blush at the discovery. He had learned the secret of his birth, and the knowledge of it tinged his cheek with shame. He waited till his mother became more calm, and then prepared to listen to a tale which he knew must deeply afflict him. She, with as much composure as she could command, related all the circumstances attending her marriage with David Morgan, and of the crime for which he was transported. But in what she further disclosed, Edmund at once discovered the cause of that ceaseless sorrow which had so long harassed her. The term of his sentence having expired, and his father being dead, David obtained a passage back to England; and it was in the summer of the year following that in which Edmund went to Oxford, that he reappeared in his native place. He did not make himself known; and indeed his appearance was so altered in the seventeen years he had been absent, that no one could have recognized him at first sight. But he prowled about the neighborhood; and one evening, when Hester was walking out alone, he suddenly presented himself before her. She was alarmed, thinking he was some man who intended to insult, or perhaps rob her. He called her by her name; his voice awakened the recollection of him in her memory, and gazing at him for a moment, she knew it was her husband.

He made a few inquiries about herself, her father, and her children; but told her he never meant to trouble her by claiming her as his wife. "I am poor enough," said he, "and I suppose you are not over rich; but when I want a guinea, I shall not be particular in looking to you for it; and I expect you will not begrudge to get rid of me upon such easy terms. If you have any money in your pocket now, it is more than I have in mine, and a few shillings will be acceptable to me." Hester gave him what she had; but before she could utter a word in reply, he had turned upon his heel and entered a coppice by the road side, observing, as he went away, "Remember, if you wish to be free from David Morgan, you will not deny Isaac Price, whenever he sends or watches for you." From that time he had continued to persecute her; sometimes with threatening messages, and sometimes by dogging her steps, so that she almost dreaded to leave the parsonage house. How he contrived to live she could only surmise from what she heard about him, every now and then, as Isaac Price, till at length the affray between him and one of the Duke of Beaufort's game-keepers led to the awful catastrophe which caused him to be apprehended as a murderer. Then, too, it began to be whispered in Tintern, that Isaac Price the poacher, was no other than David Morgan who had been transported upwards of twenty years ago, and who was the father of that excellent young man, the Rev. Edmund Morgan.

Edmund listened to this recital with deep attention; and, when it was concluded, he exclaimed, after a short pause, "Mother, I will see my father. I can do nothing for him in this world, which he must so soon leave: but he is not prepared for the next; and his eternal soul must not perish. I will visit him in prison;—talk with him; and, if Almighty God bless my purpose, I may become an instrument, in His hands, for bringing him to the true repentance of a contrite sinner." There was consolation to Hester's heart in these words of her son; and her sorrow was not without gladness, when she thought of the good work which filial piety might accomplish.

The very next day, Edmund went to Monmouth, and procured an interview with Isaac Price. He did not disclose himself; but assumed the character of a friend of Mrs. Morgan merely; sent by her to know if there were any service which she could render him in his present situation. It may be imagined with what feelings he beheld, for the first time, him who was his father, in the degraded condition of a felon and a murderer. His appearance was that of a man between fifty and sixty, with a powerful make of body, and a countenance which indicated a rough and daring spirit, rather than the prevalence of ferocious passions. His eye was dull and heavy, and sunk deep into his head; and on his right cheek there were the traces of a severe wound, which, it was supposed, he had received in his desperate struggle with the game-keeper. The top of his head was entirely bald; and, when his hat was off, the bold projection of his forehead gave a vigorous and determined character to the general expression of his face. He scarcely looked at Edmund while speaking to him; but once or twice their eyes met, and—it might be fancy—but his manner seemed disturbed, as if some dimly remembered resemblance of features once familiar to him were suddenly awakened; for Edmund was exceedingly like his mother. To the pretended message, of which Edmund represented himself as the bearer, his answer was, that "he knew of no service which Mrs. Morgan, or any body else, could render him, unless she could save his neck from the halter; and, if she would supply him with money to pay the lawyers well, perhaps he might get off." Edmund, who felt deeply shocked at this reprobate speech, and at the reckless insensibility it evinced of the awful situation in which his father stood, said, he would undertake to promise for Mrs. Morgan, that whenever any money might be required to obtain it for him, the utmost benefit of legal assistance, should be ready. He then endeavored, indirectly, to lead him into a conversation upon the nature of the crime with which he was charged, and the certain consequences of his conviction; but he maintained a sullen silence; and, at last, manifested no equivocal symptoms of a determination to put an end to the interview. Edmund, therefore, took his leave.

It wanted full two months of the time when the assizes would commence; and, during the whole of that period, Edmund sought frequent opportunities, (sometimes twice or thrice in the course of a week,) of visiting his father, as the messenger of Mrs. Morgan: but at none of these visits did David give him to understand he was indebted for this solicitude, on her part, to that which was the real cause. Edmund, at length, beheld the ripening harvest which was to reward his hallowed labors. Inspired with a holy ardor, beyond what even his sacred zeal in the cause of heaven could excite in ordinary circumstances; and his fervent piety exalted by the consciousness that it was a father's salvation he was seeking, every impulse of his heart and mind, every energy which religion could animate, was employed to regenerate the sinful nature, and touch the hardened bosom of the criminal. Much, he considered, was accomplished, when he had brought him into such a state of feeling, that he would listen patiently and attentively to his mild yet earnest exhortations, though they elicited no corresponding demonstrations of repentant sorrow. But most was he rejoiced, and most assured did he then feel of ultimate success, when, as he was one evening about to depart, after having enforced, with more than his usual eloquence, the great doctrine of sincere repentance and a true reconciliation unto God, through the Redeemer, his father took him by the hand, and in a voice of supplication almost, rather than of inquiry, said, "When shall I see you again, sir?" He had never before asked a similar question: he had never before manifested the slightest desire for his return; and his doing so now, was a grateful evidence to Edmund that his awakened heart began to hunger for the words of eternal life—for the consolation of believing, with a devout and lively faith, that "if we confess our sins, God is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and make us clean from all wickedness." Nor was this a delusive promise. The seed of righteousness had been sown; the tree had taken root; and the diligent laborer in the vineyard saw its green branches shoot forth, bearing goodly and pleasant fruit.

The day of trial came, and David was arraigned as a criminal before man; but stood before his judges as one who, having made his peace with God, was prepared to atone for the life he had taken, by the just forfeiture of his own. He was convicted, and sentence of death passed upon him. He heard it with an air of composure and resignation, which even they who knew not the conversion that had been wrought within him, still recognized as the workings of a contrite heart, and not as the insensibility of an obdurate and callous one. He returned to his cell, and greeted Edmund, whom he found waiting for him, with a serene smile, that seemed to say, the last mortal pang will soon be past, and you have taught my soul how to pray for mercy, and hope for happiness hereafter. The short interval that remained to him before he ascended the scaffold was so employed, and his demeanor such, that Edmund's heart yearned to receive a blessing from lips which were now washed pure from guilt. He could not endure the thought that his father should quit the world in ignorance that the son, whom he knew not, had been a shining light to show him the path of salvation. And yet he feared lest the disclosure might discompose his thoughts, and bring them back again to earth. He was thus unresolved, and the fatal morning approached. Edmund passed the whole of the preceding night with his father, in those solemn exercises of devotion which are the fitting preparations of an immortal soul for heaven. The dim light of a lamp fell upon his features as he bent over a Bible which lay open before him, and from which he was reading such passages as were most appropriate to the situation of his father.

David fixed his eye upon him with sudden emotion, and exclaimed, "It is very striking!" Edmund looked up. "I was thinking at that moment," he continued, "of one whom it would have delighted me to see ere I die, though I have never mentioned her to you, sir, as my wife. But you are her friend, and I hope you have found cause to speak of me to her in such a way that I may feel assured of her forgiveness for all the misery I have occasioned her."

"My mother," exclaimed Edmund, with an emphatic solemnity of voice, "is on her knees this night, to pray for you, and to join her intercessions with those of her son."

David's breathing was quick, and his whole frame violently agitated; but he could not utter a word.

"Father!" cried Edmund, and knelt before him.

David took his son's hands and pressed them convulsively to his bosom, but still he could not speak, though he wept as a child. In a few minutes the struggle was over, and he was able calmly to learn how mysteriously the will of God had brought about his conversion by the holiness of his own issue.

The morning dawned, and only a few hours now remained before he would have to suffer the brief agony of a death which no longer appalled him by its terrors. He earnestly entreated Edmund to accompany him to the scaffold, that he might see with how much Christian fortitude he could meet his doom. It was a dreadful task, but he shrank not from it. He walked by his father's side. As they passed through one of the yards leading to the place of execution, David stopped and spoke to his son. "It was on this very spot," said he, "that I first looked upon you, then an infant in the arms of your mother; and she held you to me, and bade me kiss you; and I did so. It was my first kiss. Receive here, my son, my last; and, if I am worthy to beg a blessing from heaven upon you, may your life be spared till a child of your own shall smooth your path to the grave, as you have smoothed mine!" So saying, he bent forward, pressed his lips gently on the forehead of Edmund, then walked on with a firm step, and, in a few moments, David Morgan had satisfied alike the laws of God and man, by rendering life for life.

Edward VI.

At his coronation, when the three swords, for the three kigdoms, were brought to be carried before him, he observed that there was one yet wanting, and called for the Bible. "That," said he, "is the Sword of the Spirit, and ought in all right to govern us, who use these for the people's safety, by God's appointment. Without that sword, we are nothing—we can do nothing. From that we are what we are this day; we receive whatsoever it is that we at this present do assume. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength." Child as he was, so well had he been trained, and so excellent was his moral and intellectual nature, that he was capable of thus thinking, and thus expressing himself.—One, who was about his person, says of him, "If ye knew the towardness of that young prince, your hearts would melt to hear him named; the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun; the wittiest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world." "No pen," says Fuller, "passeth by him without praising him, though none praising him to his full deserts."

There is a beautiful anecdote of this excellent prince, who, of all men that history has recorded, seems, in moral feeling, to have advanced furthest beyond his age. Ridley had preached before him, and with that faithfulness which his preachers were encouraged to use, dwelt upon the pitiable condition of the poor, and the duty of those who were in authority to provide effectual means for their relief. As soon as the service was over, the king sent him a message, desiring him not to depart till he had spoken with him; and calling for him into a gallery, where no other person was present, made him there sit down, and be covered, and gave him hearty thanks for his sermon, and his exhortation concerning the poor. "My lord," said he, "ye willed such as are in authority to be careful thereof, and to devise some good order for their relief; wherein I think you mean me, for I am in the highest place, and, therefore, I am the first that must make answer unto God for my negligence, if I should not be careful therein." Declaring then, that he was, before all things, most willing to travel that way, he asked Ridley to direct him as to what measure might best be taken. Ridley, though well acquainted with the king's virtuous disposition, was, nevertheless, surprised, as well as affected, by the earnestness and sincere desire of doing his duty, which he now expressed. He advised him to direct letters to the lord mayor, requiring him, with such assistants as he should think meet, to consult on the matter. Edward would not let him depart till the letter was written, and then charged him to deliver it himself, and signify his special request and express commandment, that no time might be lost in proposing what was convenient, and apprising him of their proceedings. The work was zealously undertaken, Ridley himself engaging in it; and the result was, that by their advice he founded Christ's Hospital, for the education of poor children; St. Thomas' and St. Bartholomew's, for the relief of the sick; and Bridewell, for the correction, and amendment of the vagabond and lewd; provision also being made, that the decayed house-keeper should receive weekly parochial relief. The king endowed these hospitals, and moreover, granted a license, that they might take in mortmain lands, to the yearly value of four thousand marks, fixing that sum himself, and inserting it with his own hand when he signed the patent, at a time when he had scarcely strength to guide the pen. "Lord God," said he, "I yield thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast given me life thus long, to finish this work to the glory of thy name!"—That innocent and most exemplary life was drawing rapidly to its close, and in a few days he rendered up his spirit to his Creator, praying God to defend the realm from Papistry.

Anecdote of Mehemet Ali.—A short time since a young man had been sent over to obtain a knowledge of engineering: whilst a resident here his mind became enlightened, and he was led to embrace the Christian faith. On his return to Alexandria, he made no scruple of avowing his new sentiment, although he was surrounded by a host of persecutors; those persons, however, one day brought him before Mehemet Ali, saying, "We beg to bring a case before your highness, in which you will be called on to act as supreme judge; this man was a Mahomedan by birth and faith; he was sent to England, where he abandoned his own religion, and embraced that of the Christians, and therefore, by our law he ought to die; all that is necessary, is to enter into a judicial course of inquiry, to bring forward facts, and to establish and authenticate them, and then, if the case be proved, it remains with your highness to enforce the penalties of the law." Well, the case was gone through, the facts were all proved, till at length the young man was asked by Mehemet Ali, "Have you embraced Christianity?" The young man got up, and with an intrepidity which a consciousness of being right inspired, and with the grace of God, which, when it finds its way to the heart, always enables a man to face his greatest enemy, said, "I am a Christian." The next question put by Mehemet Ali was, "Why have you embraced Christianity?" when he made this noble reply, "Do you ask me why I embraced Christianity?—my reason is this: I embraced it because I believed it to be true."—His enemies around him then said, "What need have we of further argument? he has acknowledged his guilt; nothing remains now but that your highness should particularize the sentence." Mehemet Ali said, "All the circumstances that have been brought forward have been clearly established, but with respect to this young man, I beg leave to state that I know him well; he was sent to England to learn engineering; he learnt that science; he came back again, has been employed in that service, and has proved himself a valuable member of society; I find him still in that place where I employed him. It appears that he has changed his religion, but I do not find that in doing so he has acted from any unworthy motive; he continues to perform his duties satisfactorily, and with reference to his change in religion, I shall leave him to settle that matter between God and his own conscience."

That young man is now going about the streets of Alexandria, a noble monument of the liberality of Mehemet Ali.—*London East India Tel.*

Distilleries Stopped.—Several distilleries have been stopped in Illinois, which were costly and profitable. The owner of one of them suddenly became convinced that his distillery was scattering death through the land. In reflecting on it during a sleepless night, he came to the conclusion that he must stop it or lose his soul. Before the day dawned he took his resolution.—"I will be faithful to my conscience and my God, whatever becomes of my distillery."

Accordingly, he arose early in the morning, went to the distillery, and calling his foreman, "John," said he, "come here. Put out these fires."

John looked up at this unusual order, in doubt whether he understood it. "What do you mean, Mr. S——?"

"I mean to have you put out the fires of the distillery. There shall no more whiskey be made here."

Dr. Church's Tooth Powder,

OR THE GREAT TOOTH PRESERVATIVE.

1. It is excellent in cleansing the Teeth and making them white, and preventing their decay. In order to keep the teeth clean and wholesome, the Brush and Powder must be used; for, by the frequent mastication of food, there is a viscid matter which adheres to the teeth, and which, if not removed, causes disease and decay.

2. It is an infallible cure for the Tartar collected on the Teeth, wholly removing it. Now, whenever tartar is suffered to gather, it occasions the swelling and inflaming of the gums, causing absorption and the expulsion of the teeth from the jaws, while it is the source of great pain.

3. It is sure to cause and preserve a sweet breath, and a pleasant taste to the mouth. Sad indeed is the evil, the pain, the destruction of comfort and health, which is brought about by *neglect*. For there is and there can be nothing worse for an individual than a bad breath; yet by overlooking the teeth, how many hundreds and thousands have disagreeable breath; and when in conversation, even, are conscious of it, and involuntarily turn their heads!—Still, all thi can be remedied in a short time, by the application of the powder, so that health, comfort and beauty, and a sweet breath will be in the possession of all

4. It hardens the gums. When the gums are soft and spongy, this powder will make them hard. Nearly one-half of the teeth which are lost, is owing to the disease of the soft and spongy gums, and collection of tartar.

For sale by Gould, Newman & Saxton, corner of Fulton and Nassau streets.

EDUCATION.

Eighth Avenue, (east side,) between 22d and 23d Streets.

MRS. and the Misses McAdam, intend removing their Boarding and day School to the above salubrious situation, on the 1st of May, 1841.

Mrs. and the Misses M. having been many years engaged in the education of youth, and during that time honored with the care of children of many respectable families in this city, trust that their experience and character for attention will secure from the public, a continuation of its support.

Terms may be known on application as above.

The Knickerbocker Line of Stages start from within a few doors of the house.

For further information, Parents and Guardians are respectfully referred to the following Gentlemen:

Hon. Campbell H. White; Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq.; W. J. McNeven, M. D.; Thomas McAuley, M. D.; W. L. Morris, Esq., corner of Bleecker and Grove Streets; George Hastings, No 1 Hanover Square; Joseph Cheesman; Silas P. Downer, 22d Street, between Eighth and Ninth Avenues; Robert Hicks; Abraham Bell; Thomas Leggett, Jun.; Isaac T. Hopper; Joshua Kimber, (L. I.) Boarding School. April 29, 1841.

BOARDING IN NEW-YORK.

GENTLEMEN visiting New-York will find a quiet and pleasant home at the *GRAHAM HOUSE*, No. 63 Barclay street, where ample accommodations are at all times reserved for transient boarders, and afforded at moderate prices, by the day or week. No fumes of tobacco or alcohol will be found to taint the atmosphere. N. B. A few permenant boarders will be taken.

ROSWELL GOSS.

New-York, April 29, 1841.

Garden and Farm Seeds,

WARRANTED THE GROWTH OF 1840!

For sale at the Seed store No. 45 North Market street, Boston.

THE Subscriber has just completed his assortment o seeds for the coming season, and is ready to suppl orders to any amount, for farm, garden, and flower seeds, both to traders and to farmers

The seeds offered are selected with great care, raised by experienced seed growers in the vicinity of Boston, New Hampshire, and in Maine, and every precaution has been used to obtain *pure* and *perfect* seeds. It is confident that atisfaction will be given to purchasers

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The assortment of garden seeds comprises every variety of seeds that is worthy of cultivation.

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Boxes of seeds for retailing, neatly prepared, at 6 cent per paper, with printed directions for their culture, variously assorted, from $10 per box and upwards: a liberal discount will be made to dealers

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Farmers who intend to change their seed, are invited to call and examine.

Flower seeds, roots, shrubs, vines and trees of all kinds furnished to order.

Catalogues of the whole may be obtained on application.

Orders by wholesale and retail are respectfully solicited.

CHARLES P. BOSSON, *Seedsman*,
No. 45 North Market street, Boston.

February 18, 1841. 6t

Channing's New Work on EMANCIPATION.

JUST PUBLISHED, by the American Anti-slavery Society, and for sale at the Office, No. 143 Nassau street New-York, Channing's new work on Emancipation, a neat 18 mo. pamphlet of 72 pages. A cheaper publication was never issued from the anti-slavery press It will be sold at 12 1-2 cents, a single copy, and at 10 dollars a hundred.

Those who wish to supply themselves with this valuable production, would do well to send orders promptly.

Terms Cash only.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

Oliver Johnson & Geo. F. White.

THIS Day published, and for sale, by Oliver Johnson, at 143 Nassau street, a duodecimo pamphlet of 48 pages, entitled, "Correspondence between Oliver Johnson and George F. White, a minister of the Society of Friends; with an appendix." Price 12 1-2 cents single—10 copies for $1.

New York, Feb. 25.

To Landlords and Tenants.

THE SUBSCRIBER will receive agencies for renting houses, stores, and tenements at Hutson's Intelligence Office, No. 560½ Pearl street. When houses are registered, or application made by tenants, no charge is made unless suited.

Feb. 25, 1841. P. A. BELL.

BAPTIST ANTI-SLAVERY CORRESPONDENT.

For sale at 143 Nassau street, (price 10 cents single, $6 per hundred,) the Baptist Anti-Slavery Correspoupent, vol. 1, No. 1; containing the reply of the Rev. Elon Galusha, to the letter of Rev. R. Fuller, of South Carolina.

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